

# Getting Across: A trilingual five- year-old's language socialisation through repair

Anne-Valérie Sickinghe

Universitetet i Oslo  
Hovedoppgave i Anvendt Lingvistikk (språktilegnelse)  
Våren 2005

# Acknowledgements

Writing this study has been a long-term effort, which has coincided with my family's settlement in Norway, childbirth, and teacher training studies. It is therefore almost needless to say that many people have assisted me in this task, and that without them, I could never have accomplished it.

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Elizabeth Lanza, for patiently reading and commenting on the many drafts that ultimately lead to this study, and for always answering my questions and being at my disposal despite a busy schedule.

It was also very heartening to receive prompt and kind responses from all those scholars whom I contacted for information and articles. Thanks are therefore due here to Randi Brodersen, Michael Clyne, Annick De Houwer, Charlotte Hoffmann and Suzanne Quay for responding to my queries, and sending me articles of their work.

In Oslo, Jan Engh, Helge Lødrup and Arne Torp have been of great help both by referring me to existing research, and pointing out the areas where there was none.

Adapting to life in a new country involves meeting new people, building new networks, and asking many questions. I am grateful to all those fellow parents, neighbours, teachers and fellow students who have enthusiastically shared with me their knowledge of Norwegian language, culture and society.

Many recordings of Vincent were made while I was writing this study, and thanks are due to all those who collaborated in making them. Special thanks are due to “Marius”, “Torben”, and their parents, as well as my mother, Anne-Marie Sickinghe-Peeters, who devoted their time to assist me in making and analysing the recordings which form the main data material for this study. Heidi Sollman's native speaker competence was of great help in the transcription and analysis of the Norwegian recording.

Last but not least, my heartfelt gratitude goes out to my husband, Andy Kleis Larfred, and my two sons, Vincent and Arthur, for bearing with me and encouraging me throughout the conception and writing of this study. *A mon Vincent chéri, un tout grand merci de bien vouloir parler français avec ta Maman, et d'avoir toléré que je fasse des enregistrements de toi – surtout sans grenouilles !*

Oslo, spring 2005

# Table of Contents

*Table of Contents*  
*Acknowledgements*  
*Transcription conventions*  
*List of examples*  
*List of tables*

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>13</b>
1.1	Background	13
1.2	Overview of the thesis	17
<b>2</b>	<b>Trilingualism</b>	<b>19</b>
2.1	Introduction	19
2.2	Approaches to the study of bi-, tri-, and multilingualism	19
2.2.1	<i>Terminological considerations</i>	19
2.2.2	<i>An historic overview of the study of bilingualism</i>	20
2.2.2.1	The monolingual view	20
2.2.2.2	The holistic view	23
2.2.3	<i>The study of trilingualism</i>	24
2.3	Defining communicative competence	27
2.4	Theories on the acquisition of communicative competence	28
2.4.1	<i>Speech Act Theory</i>	29
2.4.2	<i>Cognitive Development Theory</i>	31
2.4.3	<i>Social Development Theory</i>	32
2.4.4	<i>Language Socialisation Theory</i>	32
2.5	The architecture of language socialisation	35
2.5.1	<i>Adult discourse strategies in adult-child conversation</i>	36
2.5.2	<i>The potential and limitations of peer talk</i>	37
2.6	Trilingualism at the societal level	38
2.6.1	<i>Elite trilinguals and folk trilinguals ?</i>	38
2.6.2	<i>Childhood with more than one language</i>	40
2.7	Conclusion	42
<b>3</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	<b>43</b>
3.1	Introduction	43
3.2	The data	44
3.2.1	<i>Selection of recordings</i>	45
3.2.2	<i>Recording procedure</i>	45
3.2.3	<i>Interlocutors</i>	47

3.2.3.1	Selection criteria	47
3.2.3.2	Presentation of the interlocutors	47
3.2.3.3	The Observer's Paradox	48
3.2.3.4	Using one's own children as informants	49
3.2.4	<i>Transcription and coding of the data</i>	50
3.2.4.1	General principles	50
3.2.4.2	Translation into English	51
3.2.4.3	Phonetic transcriptions	51
3.3	Approaches to the analysis of conversation	53
3.3.1	<i>The sociological roots of Conversation Analysis</i>	54
3.3.2	<i>Qualitative and quantitative approaches to discourse</i>	55
3.3.3	<i>How and why</i>	56
3.3.4	<i>The analytical approach in this study</i>	57
3.4	Conclusion	58
<b>4</b>	<b>An unequal triangle</b>	<b>59</b>
4.1	Introduction	59
4.2	French and Scandinavian	60
4.2.1	<i>A comparison of French and Scandinavian typology</i>	60
4.2.2	<i>French in Denmark and Norway</i>	61
4.3	Danish and Norwegian	61
4.3.1	<i>A preliminary note</i>	61
4.3.2	<i>A dialectal relationship ?</i>	62
4.3.3	<i>The Scandinavian semi-communication</i>	63
4.4	Conclusion	65
<b>5</b>	<b>A trilingual 5-year-old</b>	<b>67</b>
5.1	Introduction	67
5.2	Vincent's family and personality	68
5.3	Moving around	69
5.3.1	<i>Age 0;0 – 1;3: Denmark</i>	69
5.3.2	<i>Age 1;3 – 3;3: Greenland</i>	70
5.3.3	<i>Age 3;3 – 5;3: Norway</i>	72
5.4	Pattern of exposure to L1s, L2 and L3	73
5.5	Discourse Strategy in Vincent's family	75
5.5.1	<i>General parental strategy</i>	75
5.5.2	<i>Secret and unknown languages</i>	75
5.5.3	<i>French</i>	77
5.5.4	<i>Danish</i>	78
5.5.5	<i>Norwegian</i>	78
5.5.6	<i>Greenlandic</i>	79
5.6	Linguistic development from age 3;3 to age 5;3	79
5.6.1	<i>Introduction</i>	79
5.6.2	<i>From speaking Danish to speaking Norwegian</i>	80
5.6.3	<i>Use of French in Norway</i>	83
5.7	Conclusion	84

<b>6</b>	<b>Organisational aspects of repair</b>	<b>87</b>
6.1	Introduction	87
6.1.1	<i>The choice of repair as a parameter of analysis</i>	87
6.1.2	<i>A CA approach to repair in this study</i>	88
6.2	Turn-taking in repair sequences	91
6.3	Repair types	93
6.3.1	<i>Self-initiated self-repair (SISR)</i>	93
6.3.2	<i>Self-initiated other-repair (SIOR)</i>	94
6.3.3	<i>Other-initiated self-repair (OISR)</i>	95
6.3.4	<i>Other-initiated other-repair (OIOR)</i>	96
6.4	The preference for self-repair	97
6.4.1	<i>Positions of self-initiated repair</i>	98
6.4.1.1	First position	99
6.4.1.2	Second position	99
6.4.2	<i>Positions of other-initiated repair</i>	100
6.4.2.1	Third position	100
6.4.2.2	Fourth position	103
6.4.3	<i>Repair failure</i>	103
6.5	An exception to the preference for self-repair	105
6.6	Findings	106
6.6.1	<i>Occurrence of repair</i>	106
6.6.1.1	Danish	108
6.6.1.2	Norwegian	108
6.6.1.3	French	108
6.6.2	<i>Use of self-repair</i>	109
6.6.3	<i>Delayed initiation of repair</i>	109
6.7	Conclusion	110
<b>7</b>	<b>Interactional aspects of repair</b>	<b>111</b>
7.1	Introduction	111
7.2	Contextualisation	112
7.2.1	<i>Contextualisation cues</i>	112
7.2.1.1	Contextualisation cues in the Danish recording	113
7.2.1.2	Contextualisation cues in the French recording	114
7.2.1.3	Contextualisation cues in the Norwegian recording	114
7.2.2	<i>Contextualisation in repair</i>	115
7.2.2.1	Contextualisation and self-repair	117
7.2.2.2	Contextualisation and other-repair	118
7.3	Interactional achievement	120
7.3.1	<i>Interactional achievement in peer conversation: Danish recording</i>	120
7.3.2	<i>Interactional achievement in peer conversation: Norwegian recording</i>	122
7.3.3	<i>Interactional achievement in adult-child conversation: French recording</i>	124
7.3.4	<i>Exposed and embedded correction in conversation</i>	126
7.4	Sequentiality	129
7.5	Findings	132
7.5.1	<i>General notes</i>	132
7.5.1.1	Norwegian recording	132
7.5.1.2	Danish recording	132

7.5.1.3	French recording	133
7.5.2	<i>Influence of linguistic competence</i>	133
7.5.3	<i>Language mixing, code switching and repair</i>	134
7.5.3.1	Code-switching in repair	134
7.5.3.2	Repair of code-switching and language mixing	134
7.5.4	<i>Repair and verbal play</i>	135
7.5.5	<i>The interdependence of repair and contextualisation</i>	136
7.5.5.1	Contextualisation and the preference for self-repair	136
7.5.5.2	Relevance of repair and contextualisation	137
7.6	Conclusion	138

## **8 Conclusions 139**

8.1	Language socialisation through repair	139
8.2	CA as method of analysis	140
8.3	Suggestions for further research	141

<i>References</i>	143
<i>Specimen of consent forms</i>	151
<i>Translation of specimen of consent forms</i>	152
<i>Transcription Danish</i>	154
<i>Transcription Norwegian</i>	176
<i>Transcription French</i>	200

# Transcription conventions

default (no indication)	steady or sustained intonation
dash (-)	short pause (2 sec.)
brackets w. number (<5>)	longer pause, indicated in seconds
comma (,)	partially falling intonation
period (.)	fully falling intonation, end of utterance
question mark (?)	end of question-like utterance
single slash (/)	rising intonation or other indication of marked emphasis
capitals	emphasis on word or part of it
exclamation mark (!)	excited delivery
colon (:)	lengthening of a vowel
three exes (xxx)	unintelligible string
parentheses ( )	uncertain, but possible interpretation of a string
double slash (//)	overlap – marked at beginning and end
vertical line ( )	latching
brackets (<>)	comments on child and situation
curly brackets ({ })	repaired formulation
square brackets ([ ])	phonetic transcription
bold print	language shift into non-matrix language. new language indicated between brackets
italics	translation into English
asterisk (*)	ungrammatical string

DK	Danish
EN	English
F	French
N	Norwegian
NL	Dutch
gram.	grammar
pron.	pronunciation
voc.	vocabulary

SISR	self-initiated self-repair
SIOR	self-initiated other-repair
OISR	other-initiated self-repair
OIOR	other-initiated other-repair
(V)	repair initiated by Vincent
(T)	repair initiated by Torben
(M)	repair initiated by Marius
(G)	repair initiated by Grandmother
f	failed repair outcome

Based on Berman & Slobin (1994: 657-664) and Ochs (1979: 63)

# List of examples

## Chapter 5

Example 5.1:	”parlo Italiano ?” <i>Speaking an unknown language</i>	76
Example 5.2:	“vi sætter parabolen på <b>mur</b> -en” <i>French lexical transfer in Danish</i>	77
Example 5.3:	”farvel din gamle chokolade” <i>Insistence on speaking Danish (1)</i>	80
Example 5.4:	”nej en frø” <i>Insistence on speaking Danish (2)</i>	81
Example 5.5:	“en frosk og en gutt” <i>Transition to speaking Norwegian (1)</i>	81
Example 5.6:	“det alt mad det hedder <b>frosk</b> ” <i>Transition to speaking Norwegian (2)</i>	82
Example 5.7:	”det var babyen som <b>bråkete</b> ” <i>Errors with Norwegian-Danish faux-amis</i>	83
Example 5.8 :	“jeg tager min <b>culotte</b> -N MIN” <i>French-Danish-Norwegian mixing (1)</i>	84
Example 5.9:	“jeg <b>grif</b> -er mors hoved med <b>moufle</b> -EN MIN” <i>French-Danish-Norwegian mixing (2)</i>	84

## Chapter 6

Example 6.1:	“dette er et vanskeligt puslespill” <i>Repair by two interlocutors, side sequence within head sequence</i>	91
Example 6.2:	“pourquoi ça c’est la l’eau *tout sale ?” <i>Repair by one interlocutor</i>	92
Example 6.3:	”det er bare å pusle” <i>Self-initiated self-repair</i>	94
Example 6.4:	”non {il a} *il a comme ça des <b>bue</b> au dessus” <i>Self-initiated other-repair</i>	94
Example 6.5:	“så viser den hvilken som kan dreie rundt og rundt” <i>Other-initiated self-repair</i>	95



Example 6.6:	”c’est toi qui dis arrête ?” <i>Other-initiated other-repair</i>	96
Example 6.7:	”hvad fik man i Norge, Vincent” <i>Self-initiated self-repair in first position</i>	99
Example 6.8:	”det er bare å pusle” <i>Second position SISR in same turn, next transition space</i>	99
Example 6.9:	”skal vi have nogen andre nu ?” <i>Third position repair: proposal rejected</i>	100
Example 6.10:	”og på denne her” <i>Third position repair resulting in string of repairs</i>	101
Example 6.11:	”Petite Mamy peux-toi faire” <i>Fourth position repair</i>	103
Example 6.12:	”on peut aussi – delelilelileli” <i>Failure of self-initiated repair</i>	104
Example 6.13:	”kan jeg få vann ?” <i>Failure of other-initiated other-repair</i>	104

## Chapter 7

Example 7.1:	“non non non c’est moi” <i>Contextualisation cues (1)</i>	112
Example 7.2:	“nu skal jeg styre ! giv styr !” <i>Contextualisation cues (2)</i>	113
Example 7.3:	“ser du at dom som sitter fast, det er puslespill” <i>Contextualisation cues (3)</i>	114
Example 7.4:	“maintenant tu fais des skieurs ? ou des maisons ?” <i>Adjacency pairs</i>	116
Example 7.5:	“tu fais les murs, de la maison.” <i>Contextualisation: non-initiation of other-repair in adult-child conversation</i>	117
Example 7.6:	“Monsterbedriften ... da må du hjelpe meg” <i>Contextualisation: other-initiated self-repair in symmetrical interaction</i>	118
Example 7.7:	”kravle frem ?” <i>Contextualisation and failed other-repair</i>	119

Example 7.8:	“det er ik’ ... noget for os ...” <i>Interactional achievement – Danish (1)</i>	120
Example 7.9:	“nu skal jeg styre du skal skyde” <i>Interactional achievement – Danish (2)</i>	121
Example 7.10:	”nul, en – to – tre – fire, hvor’ femmeren ?” <i>Interactional achievement – Danish (3)</i>	122
Example 7.11:	”Vincent du må ikke tre i piratbåten” <i>Interactional achievement – Norwegian (1)</i>	122
Example 7.12:	”ça va. et puis que mets-tu encore dans ton tableau ?” <i>Interactional achievement – French (1)</i>	124
Example 7.13:	”il faut des ? fe ?” <i>Interactional achievement – French (2)</i>	125
Example 7.14:	“ça c’est comme *une camion de -” <i>Interactional achievement – French (3)</i>	126
Example 7.15:	”elle tombe partout cette neige !” <i>Embedded correction (1)</i>	127
Example 7.16:	“se(r) ! den katten Elsker en sånn <b>bold</b> !” <i>Embedded correction ? (2)</i>	128
Example 7.17:	”er det sjøhest i piratbåten ?” <i>Sequentiality: ignoring code-switching ?</i>	130
Example 7.18:	“den skal være blå eller rød eller gul” <i>Sequentiality: ignoring a speech error</i>	131
Example 7.19:	“hvad er det nu du hedder ?” <i>Repair developing into verbal play</i>	135
Example 7.20:	” <b>ja</b> ! u” <i>Code-switching as verbal play</i>	136

# List of tables

## Chapter 2

Table 2.1:	Adult discourse strategies in adult-child interaction	36
------------	---	----

## Chapter 3

Table 3.1:	Overview of transcribed recordings	45
Table 3.2:	Characteristics of qualitative and quantitative research	55

## Chapter 5

Table 5.1:	Vincent's exposure to French, Danish, Greenlandic, and Norwegian	74
------------	--	----

## Chapter 6

Table 6.1:	Repair types	93
Table 6.2:	Repair positions	98
Table 6.3:	Occurrence of repair: Danish recording	107
Table 6.4:	Occurrence of repair: Norwegian recording	107
Table 6.5:	Occurrence of repair: French recording	107

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Background

In the field of language acquisition studies, there is a tradition for scholars to study their own children's speech. In the field of bilingualism studies, the first study of the development of a bilingual child is that of the French psychologist Ronjat (1913), who described the simultaneous acquisition of French and German by his son Louis, with whom he and his German wife observed the one person-one language rule known as Grammont's Principle (Grammont 1902). A quarter of a century later, Leopold (1939-49) published the first volume of a four-volume diary study about the simultaneous acquisition of German and English by his daughter Hildegard (including some observations of his second daughter Karla). Subsequent literature on bilingualism also contains numerous case studies in which linguists have studied their own children. In the field of trilingualism studies, things have been no different, in that the pioneer articles in the field (for example Oksaar 1977 and Hoffmann 1985) are studies of linguists' own children, and subsequent studies have followed up on the trend. This study too is one of a linguist studying her own child, with all the advantages and inconveniences which such a fact might entail. As is perhaps also the case with the majority of the other studies, the child in this case-study has been the very inspiration for the parent to address the subject of trilingualism.

The study of bilingualism, trilingualism and multilingualism has become especially relevant in view of the increasing world globalisation, which has resulted in more people with a knowledge of two or more languages. However, as Quay (2001:149) points out, there is still a scarcity of work on the increasing number of children who become multilingual due to intermarriage and their parents' mobility between countries. In her classification of trilinguals, Hoffmann (2001b:3-4) points out that the linguistic diversity in African and Asian countries, which probably results in the greatest number of multilingual children, is primarily reported on from sociolinguistic or educational perspectives rather than with the focus on individual trilingualism.

Even then, there is a regrettable tendency for popular opinion to associate linguistic terms such as "bilingual children/pupils" and "non-native speaker children/pupils" with negative socio-economic features, as the terms have become euphemisms for the term "socio-economically challenged immigrant children". Serious and informative work on bilingualism and multilingualism is all too often overlooked, as antiquated myths still continue to blur the

view on the bilingual and multilingual child's (and, for that matter, adult's) linguistic background and abilities<sup>1</sup>. The well-informed student of bi-, tri-, and multilingualism can brace him- or herself for many hours of counter-arguing popular misconceptions and prejudices. Especially the understanding that native-like/balanced control of two languages is the criterion for "proper" bilingualism seems particularly hard-lived. I have, for example, found one 1992 text in French didactics, which specifies that if a student's interlanguage corresponds exactly to L2, one can no longer speak of interlanguage, but would rather say that L2 and L1 are at the same level, and that there is bilingualism (Cormon 1992:96).

Those who do find the bookshelves with modern, serious literature on bilingualism (and increasingly, trilingualism too), will soon find out that the field of linguistics concerned with bilingualism is dauntingly vast and involves a wide range of subdisciplines each of which approaches the subject from the premises of different theories and methodologies. As Milroy and Muyskens (1995:11) put it, "bilingualism particularly is a topic which needs [an interdisciplinary] perspective", but that nevertheless "a linguistics text which systematically deals with a single issue from as wide a range of subdisciplinary perspectives<sup>2</sup> is as rare as a pink rhinoceros". To further complicate matters, terminology used in the field of bilingualism studies (which is still the framework upon which trilingualism studies rest) is not standardised, as individual researchers have developed a made-to-measure terminology to suit exactly their approach to the subject. One of the purposes of Milroy and Muyskens' research unification project leading to the 1995 volume was to standardise the terminology within code-switching research. This, however, "soon turned out to be an impossible task" (Milroy and Muyskens 1995:12).

Readers with specific interest in tri- and multilingualism will also need to remember that while tri- and multilingual case studies are included in bilingualism studies, the specific issues of tri- and multilingualism have their very own range of literature. However, as the study of tri- and multilingualism has only really taken off in recent years, the theoretical framework of these studies is still that of bilingualism studies and, when children are the issue, monolingual child language studies are often used as reference because of concern for developmental issues.

Grosjean's holistic view on bilingualism (1992, 1998) emphasises the importance of considering the bilingual - and, by extension, trilingual - as a competent speaker/listener in his or her own right, and Grosjean makes a case for not always comparing bilinguals to monolinguals. However, success in communicating with monolinguals and other people with

---

<sup>1</sup> In the context of L2/L3 acquisition, Helle Solberg (2001) presents a refreshingly inclusive view on teaching English to immigrant children in Norway.

whom one only has one language in common will in many instances be of great importance for the bilingual's ability to function in a monolingual society. The majority of studies on trilingual children deal with subjects who acquired one language from each of their parents, plus a third one from their environment (Hoffmann 2001b:3). This environment will more often than not be monolingual,<sup>3</sup> as will be the original environment from each of their parents. Code-switching is an important skill of bilinguals and trilinguals, which enables them to use their languages complementarily and even mark contextual cues by code-switching, or reversely switch codes according to the context of the conversation. Daily life in an essentially monolingual environment, however, will to a large extent limit bilingual and trilingual children's possibility of using code-switching as an interactional resource, as they will on a daily basis be dealing with their environment outside the home in one language. During vacations in and visits from each of their parents' countries, they will mostly need to rely on the competence of that particular language which they acquired through the daily interaction with the parent in question. Later in life, chances are that they will use the environment language when following instruction in school and during higher education, and chances are also that in adult life, they will use the environment language as professionals. To fit in with the rest of his peers, the trilingual child will also need to have communication skills which are on par with those of his friends. Shortcomings in linguistic competence in one language will therefore either have to be compensated for by skills in discourse competence, ability to exploit whatever opportunities the bilingual and trilingual has to code-switch, or the goodwill and collaboration of interlocutors. The issue is not a trivial one: Bryant (2001:238-9) lists three main reasons why communicative competence is so important to children's lives: it predicts later literacy skills, it is necessary for functioning in nursery school and school, and competent children are better liked than those less skilled.

At the same time, it is important for the child's relations with his or her parents and extended family circle, that he or she be able to communicate appropriately with them, if the relations are not to be hampered by lack of ways to communicate. The process is two-way: as a high degree of competence will enhance communication, it will stimulate the child's self-confidence when he finds that he can express himself, understand what is said and be understood, and it will enhance the child's self-confidence when he finds that his communicative skills are appreciated by others. It will also encourage interlocutors to engage in linguistic interaction with the child, and it will generally contribute to interlocutors having a higher opinion of the child's intelligence.

---

<sup>2</sup> As the ones represented in their book.

In light of the importance of communicative competence for the trilingual child's socialisation and integration in his environment, this study proposes to examine a trilingual five-year-old's language socialisation through repair. Thus, this study has a pragmatic, developmental outlook, which attributes a key role to socialisation in the process of language acquisition.

The linguistic parameter which I selected for this study is *repair*. Repair is a generic term developed within Conversation Analysis (CA), an inductive approach to the analysis of language-in-interaction which was developed in the 1960's and still is widely used today. Two seminal studies, around which much of contemporary CA research is formulated, are those by Sacks *et al.* (1974), which offers a theoretical approach to the organisation of the turn-taking in conversation, and that by Schegloff *et al.* (1977) - the same authors as the previous study - which proposes an explanation of the mechanism at work in the organisation of repair in conversation. Repair refers both to the "correction" of "errors" in the turn-taking system itself - which often become apparent as overlapping talk - and "correction" of formal or contentual "errors" of interlocutors' utterances in an effort to avoid conversational breakdown. What distinguishes correction from repair, however, is the fact that repair does not necessarily replace an erroneous utterance by a right one, while correction does (Schegloff *et al.* 1977:363).

This study shall be concerned with repair as a device for "correcting" one's own and other's utterances in order to avoid conversational breakdown. In its context-free sense, we shall see the mechanism of the repair system at work in the three half-hour transcriptions of conversation which form the main data material for this study. In the context-sensitive sense, we shall consider repair's potential as an interactional device in general and contextualisation cue in particular. The topic-related questions which the study seeks to look into are as follows:

- (i) what is the role and potential of repair as a device for the language socialisation of a trilingual child, and reversely,
- (ii) how is the influence of language socialisation revealed through the study of repair.

To answer these questions, we shall see whether the child in this study, Vincent, grasps turn-taking rules equally well in all three languages, and we shall also see whether his control of repair as an interactional device is equally developed in each of his three languages. On a methodological note, this study also explores the possibilities and limitations of Conversation Analysis as procedure for analysing a trilingual child's language.

---

<sup>3</sup> Romaine even quotes Mackey for noting that societal bilingualism is merely a safeguard for individual monolingualism (Mackey 1967 quoted in Romaine 1995:24)

## 1.2 Overview of the thesis

In Chapter two, I shall give an overview of the theoretical and conceptual framework for this thesis, in order to situate this study in the field of bilingualism studies and studies on language acquisition. After an overview of the study of bilingualism, an overview is given of works in the field of trilingualism studies. From a theoretical point of view, language socialisation theory is proposed as the overarching perspective from which we shall consider the child in this study. As language socialisation theory is a further development of developmental pragmatics, in that it highlights the importance of the social context within which linguistic development takes place, I shall also discuss the theories which underlie language socialisation theory.

In Chapter three, which is introduced by a clarification of the different approaches and terminology which have been adopted in the study of repair, I will discuss how the recordings were made, who the interlocutors are, and my motives for selecting the recordings and interlocutors that were chosen. The chapter then continues to elaborate on the principles I followed when transcribing and coding the data, before turning to the principles and background of Conversation Analysis (CA), which is the methodological framework within which I shall analyse my data. I shall also argue for my choice of CA as methodological framework, and present the analytical procedure which I shall use in my analysis.

Chapter four will shed some more light on the interrelation between the three languages which Vincent speaks. Although all three belong to the Indo-European family, Danish and Norwegian, as Scandinavian languages, are far more closely related to each other than to French, a Romance language. As a consequence – and not least because Vincent acquired Norwegian after the onset of speech – a great deal of cross-linguistic influence between Danish and Norwegian is to be expected. Another consequence of the close relation between Danish and Norwegian is the semi-communication (a term coined by Haugen 1966, quoted in Vikør 2001:121) that speakers of these languages engage in, and some linguists' argument that the languages are in mere dialectal relation to each other. I shall use distributional arguments to argue against the latter.

In chapter five, the trilingual child Vincent, his background and his family are presented. Again in light of the focus on socialisation and interaction in this study, an account is given of Vincent's early childhood, from his birth in Denmark, two years in Greenland, and present life in Norway. The patterns of his exposure are also discussed, as are accounts of the



manner in which he switched from speaking Danish to speaking Norwegian to Norwegians, and his maintenance of French. Greenlandic will in this chapter pass the review as one of the languages which Vincent has been in contact with, and which has no doubt influenced his cognitive development. However, it will not be taken into further consideration in this study, as Vincent no longer spoke Greenlandic at the time of investigation.

The analysis proper of my data begins in Chapter six, where I will look at the organisational aspect of repair as it occurs in my recordings. The point of departure for the chapter will be the above-mentioned article by Schegloff *et al.* (1977) on the preference for self-correction in the organisation of repair. Following the reasoning represented by CA in general and this article in particular, I shall account for the organisational aspects of repair as they occur in the recordings which are the basis for this analysis. This organisational analysis is the first of a two-step analytical approach to my data. This two-step approach was originally proposed by Li Wei (1998), who successfully argued that we must answer the “how” side of a phenomenon before we can turn to answering “why”. In this first step, the “how”-part of my analysis will be addressed.

Chapter seven focuses on the interactional aspect of my findings, and proposes to answer the second step of my analysis, which will address the “why”-side of the matter. Here, Vincent’s understanding of repair cues from interlocutors, as well as his own execution of repair will be analysed within the framework of CA and in connection with other pragmatic concepts.

In Chapter eight, finally, I shall discuss the findings of this study. Firstly, I shall discuss what my two-step analysis of repair has taught me about Vincent’s communicative competence, and the role of language socialisation through repair in his acquisition of it. Secondly, I shall address the advantages and disadvantages of using CA as method of analysis for this type of study. Thirdly, I shall point to areas of further research.

Ultimately, this study aims at being a contribution to the knowledge we have about trilingualism by proposing a systematic analysis of a trilingual child’s interactional skills, and the role of language socialisation in the child’s acquisition of it. There are to my knowledge no previous studies of Danish-Norwegian-French trilingual children or, for that matter, Danish-Norwegian bilingual children, and no studies which consider trilingual children within the framework of conversation analysis.

This study is the first and last “hovedoppgave” written at the University of Oslo's former section of applied linguistics with a specialisation in language acquisition. I hope that it may inspire students in the new Masters’ program to undertake further research in the fields

of trilingualism studies in general and bilingual/trilingual Scandinavian language acquisition in particular.

## 2 Trilingualism

### 2.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to situate this study within the disciplinary frameworks to which it is relevant. As the reader will soon discover, these frameworks are manifold. First of all, this study falls within the framework of trilingualism studies in that it analyses the speech of a trilingual child. It shall, therefore, be situated within this context of trilingualism studies, and an historical and theoretical account of the field shall be given. Secondly, this study falls within the framework of child language acquisition studies, since it examines developing speech. It shall, therefore, also be situated within this context, and an explanation will be given for its affiliation. Thirdly, this study falls within a social context, as both trilingualism and language acquisition are situated in society, and this study moreover attributes great importance to the role of socialisation in language acquisition. I shall, therefore, also elaborate upon both the societal aspect of trilingualism and language socialisation on the individual level, especially for as far as trilingual children are concerned.

### 2.2 Approaches to the study of bi-, tri-, and multilingualism

#### 2.2.1 Terminological considerations

The term “bilingualism” has traditionally encompassed those who speak two or more languages. Curiously, Hamers and Blanc (2000:6) distinguish what they call bilinguality, which they define as “the psychological state of an individual who has access to *more than one linguistic code*<sup>4</sup> as a means of communication” and bilingualism, defined as “the state of a linguistic community in which *two* languages are in contact with the result that *two* codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual”.

Clyne (1997:95) remarks that the *International Journal of Bilingualism* describes its focus as “the language behaviour of the bi- and multilingual individual”, thereby acknowledging that there might be a difference between bilinguals and people using more than two languages. However, literature on trilingualism is still relatively scarce, and research in the field operates within a bilingual framework. Hoffmann (2001a:13) remarks that “there

---

<sup>4</sup> The use of italics indicates my emphasis.

is no one definition that trilingualism researchers have adopted, nor indeed has this been considered a necessary requirement in the absence of any clear delimitations between bilingualism, trilingualism and multilingualism”.

While the study of multilingualism, defined by Haugen (1956:9, quoted in Clyne 1997:95) as “a kind of multiple bilingualism”, has traditionally belonged to the field of sociolinguistics and ethnolinguistics, it is receiving increasing interest at the individual level, in the field of psycholinguistics and L2/L3 acquisition studies. Cenoz and Genesee (1998:2) define multilingualism as “the process of acquiring several non-native languages and the final result of this process”. L2 and L3 studies distinguish themselves from bi- and trilingualism studies in that they are concerned with consecutive, as opposed to simultaneous, acquisition of a second or third language, and basically focus on language acquisition through instruction.

In this study, I will specifically refer to those with two languages as *bilinguals*, while those with three languages will be called *trilinguals*. Those with more than three languages I will refer to as *multilinguals*.

As the study of trilingualism, as mentioned above, has only really taken off in the last few years, and operates within the framework of bilingualism studies, it is the latter I will refer to first in my historical overview of the field.

## 2.2.2 *An historic overview of the study of bilingualism*

### 2.2.2.1 *The monolingual view*

Up until the mid 1980’s, the bilingual’s linguistic competence was measured by monolingual standards and regarded from a monolingual view on bilingualism. According to this view, the bilingual should ideally have separate language competences similar to those of corresponding monolinguals in other words, they should ideally be two monolinguals in one and the same person. “True bilinguals” were only those whose competence in each language matched that of a corresponding monolingual. Any mixing of the two (or more) languages of the bilingual was considered a flaw, and termed “interference” according to a term introduced by Ulrich Weinreich (1968, quoted in Romaine 1995:51). The “perfect bilingual” was two monolinguals in one, and in his very influential *Language*, Bloomfield (1933:56) defined bilingualism as “native-like control of two languages”.

The monolingual view of language acquisition - the inaccuracy of which I shall return to later in this chapter - also saw the human mind as a container with a pre-set, limited capacity for language storage. Necessarily, those who filled up their mind with two or more languages, ended up with a lesser knowledge of each of these languages than monolinguals,

leading to what Hansegård (1968, quoted in Romaine 1995: 261) termed “*halvspråkighet*” - “semilingualism”. This label, as Lanza (1994) argues, is neither a scientific nor a linguistic concept since it is based on an idealised and simplistic conception of linguistic competence. One of the earliest “diagnoses” of “semilingualism” can be found in Bloomfield’s (1927:395 quoted in Li Wei 2000:19) “diagnosis” of a Menomini Indian, White Thunder, who

speaks less English than Menomini, and that is a strong indictment, for his Menomini is atrocious. His vocabulary is small, his inflections are often barbarous, he constructs sentences of a few threadbare models. He may be said to speak no language tolerably.

Bloomfield did, unfortunately but not surprisingly, not look into White Thunder’s communicative needs and the devices he employed to fulfill them. For right from the outset, it was clear that not all bilinguals were equal. In *Language*, Bloomfield (1933:55-6) made the distinction between the “shifting of languages in less privileged groups (of immigrants)”, which, according to Bloomfield, resulted in developmental retardation amongst these less privileged children, and the “better-educated immigrants” who “often succeed in making their children bilingual”. Thus, Bloomfield seemed to be of the opinion that bilingualism was beneficial in favourable social environments, and detrimental for the socio-economically challenged. This point of view was later echoed by several researchers (for an overview, see Romaine 1995:117-8; 262-4 and Hamers & Blanc 2000:93-101) in the formulation of a “threshold hypothesis”, according to which bilingualism can be “additive” (i.e. positive) or subtractive (i.e. negative). Thus, the concept of “semilingualism” was used as late as in the 1980’s, when Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) used it to support her views on the influence of socio-economic conditions on bilingual children.

Romaine (1995:25) attributes this monolingual view to the fact that the nation-state traditionally has been the reference point for studies of societal bilingualism, and that the aim of studying bilinguals’ linguistic competence was to determine how far subjects did or did not qualify as belonging to any particular national group. Thus, bilingualism in prestigious languages, practiced voluntarily by the socioeconomically advantaged, has not seemed to have provoked criticism at any time. Revealingly, Bloomfield (1933:56) closes his paragraph on bilingualism by stating that

(t)he apparent frequency with which one meets bilinguals among artists and men of science may indicate a favorable effect of bilingualism on the development of the child; on the other hand, it may mean merely that bilingualism results from generally favorable childhood surroundings.

The monolingual, container-theory-based view on bilingualism is to blame for much of the ambivalence which has surrounded bilingual first language acquisition and immigrant children's bilingualism, and the consequent ambivalent attitudes towards bilingualism amongst immigrants and indigenous linguistic minorities. It is, therefore, regrettable that this monolingual view is still widely adopted amongst teachers, speech therapists, and others, who all too often discourage immigrants and mixed-couple parents from giving their children a bilingual upbringing.

While we shall return later to the distinction which some have made between elite and folk bilinguals, it is from an historical point of view also interesting to consider the factors which have enabled the shift from a monolingual view, where bilinguals are evaluated in comparison to monolinguals in terms of their language proficiency, to a holistic approach, which considers the bi-, tri-, and multilingual as a competent speaker/listener in his or her own right, and which takes into account the many facets of communicative competence, as well as the contextual factors which can influence them.

One factor which led to the discreditation of the monolingual view – at least amongst researchers in the field – was the realisation that it rested on a number of flaws and misconceptions. Firstly, half of the world population is not monolingual, and therefore, it is incorrect to consider monolingualism as the norm of a “normal” speaker-listener. Secondly, as Romaine (1995:21-2) argues, the concept of bilingualism is a relative notion and the concept of the “balanced bilingual” is an ideal one. The bilingual, in other words, is not two monolinguals in one and the same person. All the endeavours to map bilinguals' competence will, therefore, not give us an accurate image of the bilingual's communicative competence. Thirdly, the idea that the mind is a container stems from the long bygone days of craniometry (Romaine 1995:264-5). No research has ever confirmed that there is only place for one language in the brain, and the container-metaphor is based on a misguided conception of linguistic competence (Lanza 1994:139).

#### *2.2.2.2 The holistic view*

Grosjean (1985, 1992) is credited with formally challenging the monolingual view of the bilingual, and instead proposing a holistic approach. According to the latter, the bilingual is to be considered as a competent speaker/listener in his or her own right, with his or her own communicative needs and devices to fulfill them. He or she can use not two, but three so-called speech modes to serve his or her communicative needs: a monolingual mode of

language A, a monolingual mode of language B, and a bilingual mode combining the languages A and B. The possibility of using any of these speech modes is, of course, also dependent on the bilingual's interlocutor(s).

One consequence of Grosjean's holistic view is the insight that the bilingual's linguistic competence can only be evaluated correctly through his or her total language repertoire as it is used in his or her everyday life, and that the researcher must in his project design and methodology take into account the existence of these three speech modes (Grosjean 1998).

Another consequence of considering the bilingual as a speaker in his or her own right is the abandoning of constant comparisons of bilinguals with monolinguals, as the holistic – bilingual – view does not consider the monolingual speaker-hearer as being the norm.

A third consequence is the increasing consideration of code-switching as a sign of a complementary use of linguistic resources. Cenoz and Genesee (1998:18), for example, point out that the multilingual speaker has a more specific distribution of functions and uses for each of his or her languages, since he or she has a larger linguistic repertoire than monolinguals, but generally the same range of situations in which to use it.

A fourth consequence is the increased holistic approach to the speaker-listener as a person. Socio-economic, affective, and other previously ignored factors are now taken into account and factored into the evaluation of the speaker-listener under investigation.

In a wide perspective, recent years have witnessed an increasing awareness of linguistic minorities and their rights. Hamers and Blanc (2000:13) point out the great importance of valorisation (i.e. appreciation) of a language, as evidenced at both the societal and individual level. Li Wei (2000:21,22) sees the work of the language rights movements as an important influence towards legitimisation of bilingualism and hence, a different approach to the study of it. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (CETS 148)<sup>5</sup>, adopted by the Council of Europe in 1992, is one example of the achievements of these language rights movements.

Finally, the scientific, linguistic analysis of language structure, as promoted by the structuralist and generativist schools of linguistics - the latter being eminently represented by Chomsky and his view of the "ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech-community" (Chomsky 1965:3) - which was so prevalent in the mid-twentieth century, was followed by a period of cognitive/rationalist research (Brown 2000:245), where the focus of

---

<sup>5</sup> According to this Charter, languages which are not classified as official languages of the State, but which are official within regions or provinces or federal units within a State, can benefit from actions to protect and promote them.

attention for many scholars shifted from language *per se* away to language as an interactional entity.

### 2.2.3 *The study of trilingualism*

The literature specifically addressing trilingualism, despite a surge in recent years, is still relatively scarce, and has focused mainly on L3-acquisition in adults (Quay 2001:149). In 2001, Quay (2001:149) could still deplore that “we know very little about raising multilingual children, as work on trilingual families and early trilingual development is still in its infancy”. Hoffmann (2000:84) reminds us that trilingualism is not simply an extension of bilingualism, and that it probably shares features with both bilingualism and multilingualism, while retaining characteristics of its own.

One important characteristic that distinguishes trilingualism from bilingualism is the fact that although Grosjean’s notion of speech modes can be extended to trilinguals, the trilingual can theoretically use seven speech modes (A, B, C, ABC, AB, AC, BC) as opposed to the bilingual’s three (A, B, AB). This offers researchers the opportunity of examining which of the trilingual’s languages is used for code-switching in bilingual or trilingual speech. It is especially interesting that language pairs can be examined in this context, relating the closeness of parentage between the languages to the amount of code-switching between them. Hoffmann and Widdicombe (1999:54) do point out that the trilingual will only rarely use elements from all three of his or her languages with any one interlocutor, and that there are only few samples of trilingual utterances. This, again, leads Hoffmann (2001b:7) to question why most non-monolingual speech is influenced bidirectionally rather than tridirectionally. However, she remarks that due to the scarcity of trilingual data and the lack of systematic and rigorous research into the field, we can not yet give any plausible answer to this question.

As is the case for the field studying bilingualism, which is divided into “bilingualism studies”, which focus especially on simultaneous first language acquisition, and “L2 studies”, which deal with the acquisition of a second language in the classroom, the study of trilingualism is divided into a field of “trilingualism studies”, which focus on the acquisition of three languages from birth, and the field of “third language acquisition”, which studies the effects of bilingualism on the acquisition of a third language (Cenoz 2003:71).



Hoffmann (2001b:3) distinguishes five categories of trilinguals, according to the age and context in which the three languages were acquired:<sup>6</sup>

- (i) children brought up with two languages at home, and a third in the wider community
- (ii) children brought up in a bilingual community, with a third language spoken at home
- (iii) bilinguals who acquired a third language in school
- (iv) bilinguals who became trilingual through immigration
- (v) members of trilingual communities.

The informant in this investigation belongs to the first group of trilinguals. Moreover, he is still a 5-year-old and has not started school by the time the recordings are made, and formal education is not yet a consideration for him. In the following, due to lack of space, and the scope of this thesis, I will therefore limit myself to giving an overview of the literature concerned with type (i) trilinguals, even though the rapidly increasing field of L3 studies contains a great number studies which could potentially have relevance to this study in that they consider the cognitive influence of bilingualism on the acquisition of a third language.

The literature on type (i) trilingualism mainly consists of case studies. Not surprisingly, most of them are concerned with aspects of the language acquisition process, rather than the demonstration of communicative competence.

Firstly, there are the books for parents of bilingual children, which consider bilingualism in its “two or more languages” sense, and include accounts of trilingual language acquisition. Examples are Harding and Riley (1986), Arnberg (1987), and most recently, Barron-Houwaert (2004). As these studies are foremostly destined to parents and not researchers, they do not treat theoretical or methodological aspects of the study of trilingualism in any depth. They also tend to present a somewhat over-simplified picture of the One-Person-One-Language strategy, which in actual fact – and also in the case of the family in this study – is only seldomly applied as strictly as these books suggest. They are valuable, however, in that they encourage parents to give their children a trilingual upbringing, refer them to further sources of information, and generally raise awareness of trilingualism in the public opinion.

Secondly, there are the scientific studies specifically concerned with trilingualism. Pioneer studies in this area are the case studies by Oksaar (1977), Hoffmann (1985), Helot (1988), and Hoffmann and Widdicombe (1999). Oksaar’s study reports her Swedish-Estonian bilingual son’s acquisition of German between the ages of 3;11 and 5;8. Hoffmann’s 1985 study gives an account of the language acquisition of her then 8-year-old daughter, who was bilingual from birth and acquired her third language at the age of 3, and her 5-year-old son,

---

<sup>6</sup> A case can be made for adding a sixth category: monolinguals who move to a bilingual country and thus become trilingual. This would be the case for the Italian immigrants in Belgium, studied in the trilingual Foyer

who was an infant trilingual. Helot's study focuses on the functional aspect of each of the languages spoken by a French-English-Irish trilingual family. Hoffmann and Widdicombe's 1999 study relates the case of a trilingual 4-year-old, who has been exposed to French, Italian and English since birth. It focuses on the developmental aspect of trilingual language behaviour, and particularly the patterns of code-switching. The particular interest of Oksaar's study is that it already, though partly and implicitly, takes a holistic standpoint to the child's codeswitching despite it's having been written when the monolingual view on bilingualism was still the predominant one. Otherwise, Quay (2001:156-60) criticises these studies for not giving sufficiently detailed information on language input or methodology. They are also merely descriptive and "impressionistic" in nature, and lack research questions which could have given them an analytical focus. This same criticism could be directed to the research report by Deprez (1999), which lacks methodological and theoretical thoroughness, even though it offers valuable insight into the social and psychological aspects of bilingual and trilingual childrearing. Elwert's (1973) account is particular, as it is a childhood autobiography written by a philologist. Rather than an analysis, it is a recollection of the author's memories of his trilingual childhood.

Recent contributions to trilingualism studies in the individual level also include doctoral dissertations by Navracsics (1999), and Barnes (2002). Navracsics's dissertation focuses on the later development of Hungarian by a pair of siblings who were bilingual in Persian and English from birth. Barnes's dissertation examines the acquisition of questions in English by a child trilingual in English, Spanish, and Basque from birth. Both these studies are particularly concerned with the developmental pragmatic aspect of trilingual acquisition. In her sociolinguistic studies of the early trilingual development of a child exposed to his third language shortly before the onset of speech, Quay gives a meticulous account of the focus of her attention: the linguistic input provided for her informant, a boy trilingual in English, German, and Japanese, by his caregivers, as well as his response to it (Quay 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004). One does, however, especially in the 2001 study miss an evaluation of the linguistic competence of the informant's caregivers, especially considering that the informant's parents are non-native speakers of Japanese – one of the languages which they speak in the child's presence.

On the societal level, a volume taking a sociolinguistic approach to trilingualism in society appeared in late 2003 (Hoffmann and Ytsma 2003). It includes an article on the influence of parents' patterns of language input on the trilingual development – or lack thereof – of Flemish children (De Houwer 2003). In Melbourne, a large-scale research project

on the role of secondary schools' language programs and their contribution to maintaining and spreading community languages, focuses on bilinguals learning another community language as a third language (Clyne *et al.*, in press).

All in all, the field of trilingualism studies could benefit from more thorough, well-documented research. While there are quite a few descriptive case studies, and Hoffmann & Ytsma's 2003 volume deals with the societal dimension of trilingualism, only Quay's work (2001, 2002, 2003, 2004) seems to seriously address the subject of trilingual socialisation and trilingual children's communicative competence on the individual level. It is in this respect, that this study aims to contribute to the field of trilingualism studies, by proposing a consistent methodology and taking an interactional approach to a trilingual child's use of his communicative competence in two closely related languages in addition to another language.

## **2.3 Defining communicative competence**

The sociologist George H. Mead, father of symbolic interactionism, can be considered as one of the precursors to the study of communicative competence. He was an early pragmatic scholar who took a socio-cognitive approach to language and postulated that the human self arises in the process of social interaction, and especially through linguistic communication. Moreover, Mead considered language to be "only a development and product of social interaction" (Mead 1934:192). This implies that he saw language from an interactional point of view, and recognised the social identity of language.

In the cognitive/rationalist period which succeeded upon the structuralist and generativist schools of linguistics, several linguists pointed out that linguistic knowledge is only one of the competences needed by the speaker-listener to be competent with language (Schiefelbusch 1984:3-5). As Schiefelbusch (1984:3) also points out, recognising the centrality of communicative competence to development enables us to understand language as culturally situated social behaviour.

Hymes (1972) is generally credited with coining the term "communicative competence"- the ability to use language correctly and effectively in social contexts – in reaction to Chomsky's narrow definition of competence, which is limited to knowledge of language or, as he later called it, *I-language* (Internalized language) (Chomsky 1986). The definition of competence which is referred to in this study is, of course, that of Hymes and other pragmaticists and sociolinguists, and not that of Chomsky and the generative school.

Different subdivisions of the components constituting communicative competence have been proposed, for example that into grammatical competence, discourse competence, sociolinguistic competence and strategic competence (Canale and Swain 1980, quoted in Brown 2000:246-7). The problem, however, with maintaining such a strict subdivision between constituents of communicative competence is, that this defines these constituents as separate entities, while in reality, they tend to overlap each other partially or even wholly. Thus, when Swain (1984:189) defines strategic competence as

the mastery of communication strategies that may be called into action either to *enhance the effectiveness of communication*<sup>7</sup> or to compensate for breakdowns in communication due to limiting factors in actual communication or to insufficient competence in one or more of the other components of communicative competence

one could argue whether this ability to enhance the effectiveness of communication is not the same as discourse competence. In this light, it could maybe suffice to say that communicative competence consists of linguistic competence and various pragmatic abilities, which enable linguistic ability and use to go hand in hand. These various pragmatic abilities we can then collect under the name of discourse competence.

## **2.4 Theories on the acquisition of communicative competence**

The study of communicative competence belongs to the fields of pragmatics, discourse analysis and sociolinguistics (Bryant 2001:215). According to Hoffmann (2000:88), the difference between monolinguals on the one hand and bi- and trilinguals on the other manifests itself particularly well in the area of pragmatics, due to the fact that bi- and trilinguals have different speech modes to choose from in their linguistic repertoire. Ben-Zeev (1977) and Genesee *et al.* (1975) (both quoted in Cenoz and Genesee 1998:26) claim that bilingual children are more sensitive and responsive to the needs of their interlocutors than monolingual children. However, no specific theoretical frameworks have yet been proposed for the analysis of trilingual competence, and the theories which shall pass the review here were all designed to study monolingual children.

While language socialisation theory is the approach which I shall advocate for my analysis, it is important to recognise that language socialisation theory is a further development of developmental pragmatics, which again has its roots in various theories of

language acquisition. Furthermore, a number of studies both in the field of monolingual and bilingual language acquisition make ample references to these theories (see, for example, Comeau and Genesee's study on repair in bilingual children (Comeau and Genesee 2001)) In order to help any prospective students of this field of research to find their way in the multitude of approaches, I find it appropriate to start by giving a brief account of these theories which have contributed to language socialisation theory.

#### *2.4.1 Speech Act Theory*

The principles of Speech Act Theory (SAT) were first presented in a series of lectures delivered in 1955 by the philosopher John Austin. Austin himself died in 1960, but his lectures were published posthumously in 1962, and form the core of the theory. Speech Act Theory was further developed by Searle (1969) and Grice (1975), and is essentially aimed at answering philosophical questions through the study of language.

Austin made the distinction between constative and performative utterances. While the former are falsifiable, the latter, which Austin termed "Speech Acts", are based on rules and consensus. The distinction between constative and performative utterances was later replaced by a breakdown of communication into three components (locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts) which illustrate how the interaction between the form and context of the sentence relates to the speaker's intentions and the listener's understanding (Becker 2001:241).

An important addition to Speech Act Theory was Grice's (1975) concept of Conversational Implicatures, through which the speaker can fulfill his or her communicative intentions by following or violating norms of communication called "maxims".

The importance of SAT for this study, is that it has made important contributions to the field of developmental pragmatics, by providing a framework for the analysis of the functional aspects of language use, thus enabling scholars to consider the relation between the child's cognitive development and his ability to use language appropriately and efficiently. As such, it has also contributed to language socialisation theory.

The limitations of SAT, which have contributed to its relative demise, are that firstly SAT does not account for the socialisation context in which the interaction under investigation is achieved. In other words, it is anglo-centric, in that it automatically assumes that the maxims which apply in the Anglo-Saxon world (where the theory was developed), will also apply in other cultures. This is not the case.

---

<sup>7</sup> Italics are my emphasis

A second reason why SAT is unsuited for the analysis of interaction is that it is deductive in nature. While we shall return to the issue of deductive versus inductive analysis in Chapter 3, it is important to note here that in the present study, which precisely aims to gain insight in trilingual competence through the analysis of conversational interaction, a deductive approach would not be able to give us any useful answers, since a deductive approach cannot take into account the interactional process through which the communicative result is achieved.

A last reason for not choosing SAT is that the analysis thus obtained is an analysis from the perspective of the analyst, and not of the child. Cook-Gumperz (1986:43,45-7) points out some respects in which these are different:

- (i) children rely much more on context in interpretive situations than SAT researchers do
- (ii) children can “parrot” idiomatic phrases without really understanding what they are saying
- (iii) SAT’s model of reasoning is often inconsistent with children’s real life events and activities.

Research on monolingual children’s communicative competence within the context of Speech Act Theory was especially popular in the 1970’s and 1980’s, when a group of child language researchers were especially concerned with contributing work to the field of developmental pragmatics. On the subject of repair analysis, for example, there are studies by Garvey (1977, 1979), whose concepts have been elaborated in studies focusing on children’s ability to formulate initiation and responses to different types of requests (e.g. Spilton and Lee (1977), Wilcox and Webster (1980), Gallagher (1977, 1981), Anselmi *et al.* (1986), Marcos and Bernicot (1994). Then, there is Corsaro (1977; 1985) who takes a sociological outlook on adult-child (1977) and peer (1985) conversations, and McTear (1985), who uses both the SAT-pragmatic and CA approach in his account of repair in children’s conversation - without giving any further information on the theoretical affiliation of the concepts he uses. A more recent study on bilingual children’s repair strategies (Comeau and Genesee 2001) still has these SAT-inspired studies as reference.

#### *2.4.2 Cognitive Development Theory*

Cognitive Development Theory (CDT) is based on the views of the French psychologist Jean Piaget (1896-1980). It was the predominant developmental theory all through the best part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and is widely referred to in SAT-based studies on language acquisition. A central notion in CDT is that intellectual development should be seen

as the child's progression through a series of distinct levels of cognitive development, and that transfer from one level to the other is achieved through an internal process of equilibration (Corsaro 1985:53-4). In the linguistic area, CDT states that the development of children's linguistic skills goes hand in hand with the development of their cognitive skills, since language is not a separate faculty, but only one of several abilities resulting from cognitive maturation (Bohannon and Bonvillian 2001:276). In its original form, Piaget (1926) contended that from age 2 to 7, children do not tend to address or adapt their speech to their interlocutor, but instead talk to themselves, and that the most typical manifestations of this egocentric speech are repetitions, monologue and collective monologue.

Later research has falsified Piaget's original views, by demonstrating that children under seven do have considerable discourse competence, i.e. that they do from a very early age take into account their interlocutor's perspective. An example of one such study falsifying Piaget's egocentric theory is by Keenan (1977), in which she shows how her 2;9-3;9 year old twin boys could sustain a coherent dialogue and attend to each other's utterances. McTear (1985), in his analysis of children's conversations, also found that children could attend to their interlocutor's needs. In her study on the conversational competence of children interacting with their mothers, Dimitracopoulou (1990:129) too found that contrary to Piagetian claims, 3;6-4;0 year old children's conversations with their mothers constituted true dialogues.

The contribution of CDT to Language Socialisation Theory and this study, is that it provides the framework for considering the child as a little linguist, who by passing through the different stages of cognitive development figures out the rules of speech, instead of being just a mere passive recipient of linguistic input. CDT also highlights language as a central parameter, through which we can measure the child's cognitive development.

#### *2.4.3 Social Development Theory*

While Piaget saw human development primarily as an individual process, others have tried to extend his theory to include a social dimension. Vygotsky (1896-1934), who worked independently from Piaget in an isolated, marxist USSR, considered the process of cognitive development to be collective (Corsaro 1985:59). As he saw it, there is a linguistic base on which children can expand their social knowledge through communicative experience. Thus, the child becomes an innovative language learner: he or she both works within and modifies the knowledge base (Cook-Gumperz 1986:38-9). According to Vygotsky, the "zone of proximal development" is "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined

by independent problem-solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem-solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with peers” (Vygotsky 1978, quoted in Corsaro and Streeck 1986:14-5). Moreover, Vygotsky (1978) introduced the concept of “mediation”, according to which children learn to replace objects with linguistic symbols.

The introduction of socialisation into the developmental perspective on communicative competence has opened up for the study of how children’s social knowledge and interactive competence develop through everyday social interaction with adults and peers (Corsaro 1985:69), and thus, Vygotsky’s theories form the basis for interactionist approaches – amongst which the approach adopted in this study - which accord a central role to the aspect of socialisation in language acquisition.

Vygotsky’s social development theory is therefore important in the context of this study, since it opens up for taking socialisation as the overarching perspective from which to consider conversational interaction.

#### *2.4.4 Language socialisation theory*

Language socialisation theory is a further development of developmental pragmatics, which took a more restricted, deductive, SAT-based approach to language acquisition, without taking the wider, socio-cultural dimension of language acquisition into account.

Socialisation is an interactive, lifelong process which takes place at both the interpersonal and society level. Levinson (1983, quoted in Cook-Gumperz 1986:54) even calls conversation “the matrix of language or language acquisition”, thus emphasising socialisation’s central role in the process of language acquisition. The language socialisation process takes place at different interactional levels, and in different societal contexts, which are all intertwined.

Schieffelin and Ochs see language socialisation as “socialisation through the use of language” and “socialisation through language” (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986, quoted in Lanza 2004). Ochs (2001:227) characterises language socialisation research as follows:

With an eye on interaction, we examine the language structures that attempt to socialize [...] and the interactional effects of such attempts. [...]. [F]rom this perspective socialization is a collaborative enterprise, and language socialization researchers are in the business of articulating the architecture of that collaboration.

Ochs differentiates between language socialisation research on the one hand, and language acquisition research on the other. With the latter, the analytic focus rather rests on less experienced persons as acquirers and more experienced persons as input, and thus focuses



on the persons involved in the interaction and the outcome of the interaction, rather than the interactional process itself.

Lanza (2004) points to the predominant role of psycholinguistic studies in the field of bilingual first language acquisition, and the quantitative approaches which the bulk of these studies rely on. These quantitative approaches, she argues, fail to capture the “true significance of interaction and its impact on language socialisation”, since they depart from a positivist, and not an interpretive type of method. In advocating a qualitative sociolinguistic approach, she emphasises “the importance of placing the study of bilingual first language acquisition within a language socialization framework” (p. 22).

Ochs (2001:228) also distinguishes between the language socialisation approach and developmental pragmatic approaches, of which the language socialisation approach is a further development, in that it considers the sociocultural context of interactions, previously ignored in developmental pragmatics. This has important methodological ramifications, as a language socialisation approach will consider the ethnographic context of an exchange, while a pragmatic approach will not. Ochs does admit, however, to one weakness of the language socialisation approach, which is that it may lead to overgeneralisation of cultural practices and underspecifying of over-arching communicative and socialising practices.

In this study, I shall endeavour to avoid this pitfall by sticking to the following sociolinguistic keywords, highlighted by Lanza (2001:203) for the analysis of discourse: *contextualisation*, *interactional achievement*, and *sequentiality*.

### *Contextualisation*

The notion of contextualisation, introduced by Gumperz (1982:130), builds on the assumption that

linguistic diversity serves as a communicative resource in everyday life in that conversationalists rely on their knowledge and their stereotypes about variant ways of speaking to categorise events, infer intent and derive expectations about what is likely to ensue.

In Aarsæther’s (2004:35) analysis of code-switching among Pakistani-Norwegian teenagers, contextualisation is about meaningful, linguistic elements which need not be referential or lexicalised as such, but which are nevertheless verbal and non-verbal means of communication, such as for example, body language, prosody, or code-switching. Contextualisation is relevant for our study in that it is a supplementary resource in communication, which can be both culture-specific and universal.

### *Interactional achievement*

In Lanza's (2001:203) words, the concept of interactional achievement relies in its essence on the notion that "situation is not a predetermined set of norms functioning solely as a constraint on linguistic performance [...] Participants in an interaction jointly achieve a conversational context". Thus, interactional achievement is what makes contextualisation a dynamic notion, as contextual cues are not static and predetermined, but dynamic and re-negotiated in every interaction.

### *Sequentiality*

The concept of sequentiality is fundamental in CA, and is widely represented in the work of Auer (1984,1995,1998, quoted in Lanza 2001:204). It is interrelated with interactional achievement, in that it is a critic of Gumperz' taxonomic interpretation of contextualisation. By proposing sequentiality as context constantly re-negotiated in interaction, Auer argues that "the same cue may receive different interpretations on different occasions" (Auer 1995:123 quoted in Lanza 2001:204), which is why each cue must be examined in its own conversational context.

These three concepts will all be applied the second part of my analysis (Chapter 7) where I shall address the interactional aspect of repair. The second part of my analysis will also deal with the interactional aspects of adult-child and child-child conversation, and the contribution which both can make to the socialisation of trilingual competence. In the following, I shall therefore elaborate on the manner in which language socialisation of children takes place through interaction with adults and peers.

## **2.5 The architecture of language socialisation**

Language socialisation takes place through adult-child interaction and child-child interaction. While monolingual adult-child interaction has been intensely studied by developmentalists and anthropologists as an opportunity for language socialisation to unfold in both dyadic and multiparty interaction (see Ninio and Snow 1996 for a review), child-child interaction has been studied relatively unsystematically and with little attention to its potential consequences for development (Blum-Kulka and Snow 2004:292). This is a pity since

available research also shows peer talk's potential for pragmatic and linguistic development (Blum-Kulka and Snow 2004:294).

In the field of bilingualism and L2 acquisition, the work of Gumperz (1982), who proposes a discourse perspective on code-switching, has been an opening for the investigation of the role of socialisation in the acquisition of bilingual competence. As in monolingual language studies, however, adult-child interaction has been the primary source through which socialisation of bilingual competence has been studied (for an overview, see De Houwer 1995, and Lanza 1997), and moreover, in the field of bilingual first language acquisition, there has been a strong focus on first-born children and only children, as noted by Lanza (2004:37).

The socialisation of trilingual competence, in its turn, has mostly been addressed indirectly either in the early rather impressionistic case studies, or through sociolinguistic investigations on trilingual acquisition (for example, Hoffmann and Ytsma (2003), and Clyne *et al.*, in press). Quay's work (2001,2002,2003,2004) is pathbreaking in this respect, in that it does propose a systematic approach to different aspects of the issue. Otherwise, trilingual socialisation can – like the rest of trilingual issues - be seen as an extension of bilingual socialisation, with the possibility of peers and adults having different roles in the socialisation of different aspects of communicative competence for different languages.

As the data on which the analysis of this study is based contain both one instance of adult-child interaction, and two instances of child-child interaction, I shall here highlight some features which will be relevant for the second part of my analysis (Chapter 7).

### *2.5.1 Adult discourse strategies in adult-child conversation*

The most salient feature of adult-child interaction is the asymmetry of the interlocutors' competence, both on the linguistic and social front. As a result, the adult – and especially caregiver - will have the option of adopting various so-called “parental discourse strategies”, that is, strategies proposed by Lanza (1992,1997,2001) in the context of child code-switching, and defined (Lanza 2001:207) as “a continuum of discourse strategies or potential contextualisation cues on the part of the parent in response to the child's mixing”. Lanza's notion of parental discourse strategies can, of course, be extended to situations outside language mixing involving the child and adults other than the parents. These strategies in response to mixing open up negotiations for a context that is more or less bilingual, depending upon which end of the continuum they fall in. As such, they may be used to evaluate to what extent any context is more or less monolingual or bilingual. If the

interlocutor responds to the child's use of the other language by code-switching (or using another more bilingually oriented strategy) the the child's mix cannot be considered inappropriate. Such is the case with several instances in my data, in which Vincent's interlocutor uses some of the discourse strategies reproduced below, as an adaptation of Lanza's table (Lanza 1997:260 and Lanza 2001:208):

*Table 1: Adult discourse strategies in adult-child interaction*

1.	<i>Minimal Grasp Strategy</i> (Ochs 1988): Adult indicates no comprehension of the child's utterance.
2.	<i>Expressed Guess Strategy</i> (Ochs 1988): Adult asks a yes/no question involving a translation of the child's mix.
3.	Adult repetition of the content of the child's utterance
4.	<i>Move On Strategy</i> : the conversation merely continues
5.	<i>Code-switching</i>

While the Minimal Grasp Strategy can be placed at the high-constraint end of the discursive spectrum, where the child will have to totally revise his utterance in order to be understood, the Code-switching strategy is at the low-constraint end, where the conversation will simply carry on with no repair.

In our French recording, which is one of adult-child interaction, and to some extent in our Norwegian and Danish recordings during interventions by adults, we shall see practical examples of adult discourse strategies, and the extent to which they constitute and are dependent on contextualisation cues.

### *2.5.2 The potential and limitations of peer talk*

Contrary to adult-child interaction, child-child interaction is symmetrical in nature, and therefore gives a more equal participation structure. Blum-Kulka *et al.* (2004:308) argue for the potential of peer talk not only in the area of developing social interactional skills, but for the entire spectre of skills involved in the acquisition of communicative competence. They base their argument for the importance of peer talk on two levels:

The first level is situated within childhood culture. It is "the social space within which children actively negotiate meanings and relationships related to their local peer culture" (Blum-Kulka *et al.* 2004:308). This level is the focus of social anthropologist studies, which are concerned with the emergence of cultural patterns in children's peer interactions.

The second level consists of peer talk as a central arena for social, discursive and pragmatic development. This level is the focus of developmental psychology studies and language socialisation studies such as the present one. It is, therefore, on this level that I shall address repair as a socialisation device in the two instances of child-child interaction which occur in my data.

Peer talk does, however, have some limitations also for as far as its contribution to language socialisation is concerned. Blum-Kulka and Snow (2004:291) point out some of these limitations of peers as language teachers. Firstly, peers are not as willing as adults to repair misunderstandings. Observations in U.S. pre-schools have shown that non-English pupils are ignored by their peers until they have acquired some English, which suggests that peers are not helpful learners in the earliest stages of acquiring the target language (Tabors and Snow 1994, quoted in Blum-Kulka and Snow 2004:296).

Secondly, peers themselves are still in the process of language acquisition. Especially in settings where the vast majority of peers are non-native speakers, ungrammatical usage and unconventional language forms can become institutionalised without adult sanction or support (Blum-Kulka and Snow 2004:297-8). We shall in the data of my analysis also be able to identify several instances of the limitations of peer talk as instrument for language socialisation.

## **2.6 Trilingualism at the societal level**

The purpose of highlighting some aspects of trilingualism at the societal level here is to increase the reader's awareness of background elements which are of importance for the child in this study. While these background elements, being at the societal level, cannot be immediately detected in the data which form the basis of this analysis, they nonetheless exist and form a part of the socialisation that shapes the trilingual child's language development. As such they are of importance for how this child will pick up on socialisation cues in conversation, and as such they are relevant for my study, which has a particular interest in the social integration of the trilingual child in essentially monolingual communities of practice.

### 2.6.1 *Elite trilinguals and folk trilinguals ?*

In the field of bilingualism studies, Romaine (1995, 1999) distinguishes between so-called elite bilinguals and folk bilinguals. Her distinction is based on studies (especially Skutnabb-Kangas 1984, who was also the one to coin the term “elite bilingual”) which show the importance of societal circumstances for the effect that bilingualism will have on the language learner. According to the distinction, elite bilinguals have a choice to become bilingual or not, and usually speak high status languages such as French and English, whereas folk bilinguals have bilingualism forced upon them by societies which do not support their minority language. This is especially the case for bilinguals who speak a low-status language. Romaine (1999:65) also criticises the fact that much research on bilinguals has been carried out with researchers’ own children, “in situations where the languages being acquired are clearly separate at both the individual and community level” and that hence, these results show an idealised picture of the bilingual child.

The elite-folk distinction seems, however, problematic for several reasons, and rather than contrasting the two categories elite-folk, it could be more productive to consider bilinguals individually. Firstly and most importantly, Skutnabb-Kangas’s elite-folk distinction is based on the threshold hypothesis (outlined in Section 2.1.2), which again is based on the monolingual view on bilingualism which, as we have seen above, has proved misguided. Secondly, bilinguals can take in different positions on the continuum according to the different aspects of their background. Ethnicity/nationality, education, income, and language status could each indicate different positions on the elite-folk continuum. Thirdly, the very criteria for judging how far a bilingual learned a second language “for his own contentment” or “out of necessity” can be more equivocal than they seem. As an example of apparently unequivocal “elite bilingualism”, we can consider the Norwegian policy of teaching school children English from the age of six and until the end of secondary school. While this might seem a standard example of “own free choice”, it must be borne in mind that with the high level of internationalisation, the high influx of English language in the Norwegian media, and the necessity to speak English if one has any ambitions of further education, knowledge of English has become a “must” in this small language community. School attendance in Norway is mandatory from the age of 6 to the age of 16, and English is in actual fact a compulsory subject for all pupils for the entire duration of the school period. Therefore, it would indeed be very difficult for any Norwegian pupil to “escape” English tuition. With this

in mind, it becomes far more debatable – at least at the individual level – as to how far learning English in Norway is still an “elite” activity.

Another danger of the elite-folk distinction is that it contributes to the “us-and-them” – stereotyping of minority groups. In Norway, Swedes and Danes were in actual fact the second- and third largest group of immigrants in 2004.<sup>8</sup> Danes are also the group that stays in Norway longest (almost 54 % had stayed for 20 or more years in 2004). Yet no systematic research has been carried out as to the bilingualism or L2-acquisition process of Swedish and Danish children in Norway (and this is even excluding children from Swedish/Norwegian and Danish/Norwegian mixed marriages, as children with one Norwegian parent are not considered foreigners), and we do not know to what extent these children feel any “different” from their Norwegian peers or what factors determine whether these children will continue to speak Danish/Swedish or not after a prolonged stay in Norway. In total, one third of the immigrants in Norway in 2004 were of Western origin, and an unknown number of well-educated immigrants from all over the world came to Norway as a result of professional recruitment efforts. In the popular opinion, however, terminology like “foreign language speakers”, “bilingual pupils”, and “people with foreign culture” still brings up associations with particular groups of immigrants.

From a trilingual point of view, the issue becomes even more complex, as one person can belong to both elite and folk bilingual groups for each of his language pairs. As an example, let us consider the trilingual child in our study. Born in Denmark of Danish/Dutch/French-Belgian heritage, he was statistically a Dane, and his parents were in a position to make a choice in giving him a bilingual upbringing or not. At this stage, he was, therefore, definitely an elite bilingual. During his 2-year stay in Greenland, which is officially bilingual in Greenlandic and Danish, his acquisition of Greenlandic would have been a prerequisite had he stayed in Greenland, as policy makers at that point had decided to instate Greenlandic as the official first language of tuition. At the nursery school level, however, it was perfectly possible to provide Danish daycare. Thus, the duration of his stay made him an elite trilingual, but he would have turned into an elite Danish-French bilingual and minority-language “folk” Danish-Greenlandic bilingual upon entering Greenlandic primary education. After his arrival in Norway, the same child became a minority “folk” Danish-Norwegian bilingual and elite Danish-French bilingual, with one instance of elite-language death in his linguistic history. From an overarching social point of view, this child can also be considered both “elite” – both his parents have academic degrees – and “folk” – since he is, in actual fact, an immigrant in Norway, is “forced” to learn Norwegian and does not benefit from any

governmental measures to support his knowledge of other languages or remediate to lacking knowledge of Norwegian.

His case, if any, is therefore a clear one in support of considering bi- and trilinguals at variable places on the continuum between elite and folk, rather than trying to slot them into the poles of this notion.

### *2.6.2 Childhood with more than one language*

The issue of bilinguals' attitude towards the languages which they speak usually comes up in an ethnolinguistic context (such as Hamers & Blanc 2000:219,290), specifically in discussions of whether/how fast first generation immigrants acculturate to their new home country and "forget" their country and language of origin, and how much of their country of origin's culture and language they transmit to their children.

Within ethnolinguistics, the concept of "hyphenated identity" has been introduced to account for this phenomenon. The concept of hyphenated identity is, however, much debated. As Sandøy (2003:25) explains "the group identity is maybe fundamental for the human being [...] but it is hardly true that language *must* be an expression of this identity, even though it often is". It is also the case that we constantly negotiate our identity in interaction. Children who grow up speaking more than one language will, however, through speaking these languages have easy access to the cultures of the societies in which these languages are spoken.

Some immigrants of large minority groups have a history of staying closely knit, thus creating a sub-culture where they can meet peers, with whom they can converse in the language of their country of origin, or at least engage in bilingual conversations with high amounts of code-switching. For other immigrant groups, on the other hand, the number of people originating from the same country can be so small or dispersed that it becomes difficult to build social networks, or, in the case of Danes and Swedes in Norway, cultural and linguistic similarities with the new country are so strong, that fellow-countrymen do not seem to feel a need for strong bonding.

Thus, some bilingual children grow up in a tight-knit immigrant sub-culture, while others will be more on their own, and will to a greater extent have to define their identities by themselves. For trilingual children, the likeliness of finding others with the same linguistic background as themselves is often small, and consequently, they will typically belong to the "one of a kind"-category.

---

<sup>8</sup> Numbers retrieved from Statistisk Sentralbyrå, published 26 May 2004.



This brings us back to the monolingual view on bilinguals and trilinguals. For humans, allegiance to a group is an important part of one's identity, and the very criterion of native speaker competence, i.e. being recognised by mother tongue speakers of a group as belonging to their group, is a sign of the inclusion/exclusion mechanism at work. As a child bi-, tri-, or multilingual, it is therefore common to be asked what nationality one feels "most" like having, one's speech production is often scrutinised in search of elements which would betray a less-than-mother tongue competence, and for those who obtain such a level of communicative competence in any of their languages, that they fulfill the "one of us" criterium, the other languages will often fall far into the background in a monolingual society's day-to-day interactions. This does not, however, mean that these languages are inexistent in the mind of the bi-, tri-, or multilingual child. One should rather say that they have been de-activated (according to Grosjean's terminology (Grosjean 1998)).

## **2.7 Conclusion**

We have seen in this chapter how research on bilingualism has evolved from a fallacy-ridden monolingual view to a far more accurate holistic view. We have also seen how trilingual research, despite a recent surge, is still in its infancy and especially lacks serious contributions at the individual level.

As a theoretical approach, language socialisation theory, which is an improvement of developmental pragmatics in that it appreciates the influence of the socio-cultural environment for the development of the child's communicative competence, is well taken. Furthermore, adopting language socialisation theory as the theoretical approach to this study is consistent with choosing CA as method of analysis, in that CA is specifically concerned with unveiling the structures of social interaction through the analysis of conversation.

From a methodological point of view, language socialisation theory is, like we shall see in Chapter 3 that CA also is, essentially inductive and qualitative in its approach to data.

This study will adopt a process-oriented look at Vincent's interactions with his interlocutors, in order to unveil the mechanisms of socialisation as they manifest themselves through interaction, particularly in repair sequences.

# 3 Methodology

## 3.1 Introduction

This study proposes an inductive approach to data obtained within a 2-week interval through the recording of naturally occurring conversation. As we have seen in Chapter 2, I shall consider a trilingual 5-year-old's understanding and production of repair, with the purpose of both gaining insight into his communicative competence, and for gaining insight into the socialisation process through which he develops this communicative competence. On a theoretical/methodological note, I also aim to achieve insight into the question of whether conversation analysis is a suited method for analysing this type of data.

It is important to recall that the study of repair – like the study of trilingualism - is a topic that can be approached from different angles, and analysed according to different methods, which are founded in different theories. The term of repair, however, was originally developed within Conversation Analysis. Other names under which phenomena corresponding to repair have been analysed are “Contingent Query” (Garvey 1977, 1979; Gallagher 1981; Anselmi *et al.* 1986), “Request for Information” (McTear 1985), “Clarification Request/Request for Clarification” (Corsaro 1977, McTear 1985, Comeau and Genesee 2001). The two last terms correspond to repair initiation. Comeau and Genesee (2001) analyse what they call “repair strategies”, which corresponds to outcome of repair, and do so within a completely non-CA framework in which they refer to initiation of repair as “clarification request”. The fact that most studies do not explicitly state within which theoretical and methodological framework they operate can be very confusing for new students, especially since most studies draw upon studies from various backgrounds, without bringing it to the reader's attention that they are doing so. An example in case is McTear (1985), who in his approach to repair/clarification requests uses studies based on SAT-analysis (e.g. Corsaro 1977, Garvey 1977, 1979), and the theory on organisation of repair developed within CA (Schegloff *et al.* 1977). McTear also mixes the approaches by listing various types of “requests for clarification” as sub-types of “repair types”. McTear's term of “repair types” also does not at all cover the same load as the term “repair types” used in CA.

It is therefore important to underscore here that this study operates within the framework of CA, and uses the term “repair” in reference to phenomena defined as “repair” within CA.

In this chapter, I shall first present the data which will be further analysed in Chapters 6 and 7. I shall account for how they were collected and transcribed and why they were collected and transcribed thus. I shall then present Conversation Analysis as a method, and compare CA to other approaches to the analysis of conversation. I shall conclude this chapter by arguing why I consider this type of data and this method of analysis relevant for answering my research questions.

## 3.2 The data

The data for Chapters 6 and 7 (the analysis proper) in this study consist of three half-hour sessions of audio-recorded conversations, involving Vincent and a Norwegian peer, with “guest appearances” from Vincent’s father; Vincent and a Danish peer, with “guest appearances” from the Danish peer’s father, and Vincent and his grandmother respectively<sup>9</sup>. As a supplement to these data, I shall also refer to one French recording made one week after the French recording selected. The reason for not basing my analysis on a longitudinal collection of data is that since each of the recordings had to be made in the country which Vincent associates with the language in question, and preferably within as short a time interval as possible for each stage of development, it would have been too resource-demanding within the scope of this study to repeat the effort more than once. Taken into consideration Vincent’s age at the time of recording – at 5 years of age, the child’s linguistic system has been through its most fundamental stages of development – the recordings can thus be considered a snapshot of his linguistic ability at the age of 5;3. In accordance with the Norwegian legislation on personal data, Vincent’s peer interlocutors have been given fictitious names.

In Chapters 4 and 5, where I present Vincent and his linguistic background, I shall refer to longitudinally collected data. These consist of recordings which I have made of Vincent between the ages of 3;9 and 4;3,<sup>10</sup> and diary notes of Vincent’s language development from age 1;6 to age 5;3.

### 3.2.1 *Selection of recordings*

---

<sup>9</sup> At the time of recording, Vincent had no French-speaking peers with whom he was familiar.

<sup>10</sup> “Frog, where are you ?” is the booklet used in R. Berman and D. Slobin’s seminal crosslinguistic study of children’s narrative development (Berman and Slobin 1994). It consists of a storyline in pictures which the child has to retell. The other booklets used in these recordings, “Frog goes to dinner” and “One frog too many” have appeared in the same series.

During the 2-week interval of recording, a total of 10 recordings were made. Those 7 recordings that were not selected were dispreferred for one or several of the following reasons: no or hardly any talk by Vincent's interlocutor; no or hardly any talk by Vincent; too much background noise; overzealous adults; Vincent's leaving the room; the interlocutor's leaving the room. The following table gives an overview of the data which were transcribed, the place where they were collected, and those who were present during the recording session. A more elaborate description of the data will precede each transcription in the appendix.

*Table 3.1: Overview of transcribed recordings*

<b>language</b>	<b>date recorded</b>	<b>place recorded</b>	<b>participants/bystanders</b>
Danish	8 March 2003	Torben's bedroom, Denmark	<i>participants:</i> Vincent, peer Torben, Torben's father Nicklas (occasionally)
Norwegian	13 March 2003	Vincent's living room, Norway	<i>participants:</i> Vincent, peer Marius, Vincent's father (occasionally) <i>bystander:</i> Marius's mother
French	18 March 2003	Ski resort living room, France	<i>participants:</i> Vincent, Vincent's maternal grandmother

Each recording lasted approximately one hour, but only 30 minutes of each recording were transcribed, to ensure equal portions of transcription in each language. The selection criterion for which interval to transcribe was that first of all, the aim was to transcribe as coherent a piece of conversation as possible. As Vincent would often run away, this automatically disqualified several portions. Secondly, audibility of utterances was an important criterion for which intervals to transcribe. In the case of the Norwegian recording, for example, the television was making so much noise on the recording that a large part of the conversation was impossible to decipher.

### *3.2.2 Recording procedure*

The recording device for all three recordings was a Sony minidisc recorder with stand-alone microphone. The primary reason for choosing minidisc was the digital sound quality of minidisc recordings which is far superior to that of analog tape recordings. Especially for the recording of naturalistic conversations between children, this is very important, as it is impossible to make children sit right besides the microphone during the entire recording, and the conversation is bound to contain a large amount of mumbling, background noise, overlaps, false starts, exclamations and the like. Another advantage of minidisc recordings is

that they can easily be copied to CD format, and be played on any computer or CD player. A downside of minidisc proved to be that minidisc recorders are not as user-friendly as tape recorders are. After some unfortunate experiences, it became necessary to switch on the recorder myself before leaving the premises where the recording took place.

In the case of the Norwegian and the Danish recordings, Vincent and his interlocutor were placed together in a room with some toys, and – unwisely – a television set in the Norwegian session (unwisely because noise from the television set, which was merely meant to stimulate the conversation, made the conversation inaudible). The boys were then as much as possible left on their own, and their conversations recorded. In the case of the French recording, Vincent was placed in a room with his interlocutor, and an activity (painting) was initiated. In none of the recordings were Vincent or his interlocutors instructed to discuss any particular topics, or engage in any particular activity. It was originally the intention that Vincent and his interlocutors were to be alone. This proved practically unfeasible in a normal home environment: either the boys would run off, or some of the children would simply not talk. The Norwegian and Danish recordings, therefore, also contain “guest appearances” by adult caregivers, who kept the children’s interactions going, but otherwise stayed in the background as much as possible. To avoid influencing the informants by my presence (the “Observer’s Paradox”, which I shall return to later), I myself was not present during any of the recordings.

When deciding on the medium of recording, I opted for audio because capturing lively children in their normal environment on video without being present myself and without disrupting these children’s activities (the presence of an adult with a video camera seemed far more intrusive than the presence of a minidisc recorder with microphone) seemed an insurmountable task. At the time of transcription, however, the absence of visual information proved a greater inconvenience than foreseen. While there were no problems determining who was speaking to whom, interpretation of sequences as being for example internal speech proved impossible without visual images to support the assumption. A combination of digital audio recording, supported by video data to supplement audio information, would therefore have been ideal in this setting.

### 3.2.3 *Interlocutors*

#### 3.2.3.1 *Selection criteria*

Each interlocutor only has one language in common with Vincent, and thus, Vincent was in each recording at the monolingual end of his speech continuum according to the definition by Grosjean (1998:137-9). The interlocutors were all familiar with Vincent, which was important since Vincent is usually very shy around people he doesn't know. I did not from the outset have any preference for using peers or adults as interlocutors. It soon turned out, however, that the recordings of interaction with peers proved very lively and spontaneous. Moreover, recordings with peers did not contain any instances where the interlocutor put words in Vincent's mouth in an effort to please the investigator, as was seemingly the case in the recordings with adults.

An added advantage of using peers in the Scandinavian recordings is that even monolingual adult Danes have a good passive knowledge of Norwegian, and vice versa, and monolingual adult Norwegians quite easily understand Danish. Vincent's Norwegian interlocutor, however, regularly reminds Vincent and his parents of the fact that he only understands Norwegian. As for the Danish interlocutor, Vincent does not know whether he actually understands Norwegian (which he doesn't), especially since the families always see each other in Denmark and speak Danish whenever they meet.

#### 3.2.3.2 *Presentation of the interlocutors*

Marius, the Norwegian boy, is one of Vincent's playmates from nursery school. He and Vincent know each other very well, especially since they also meet outside nursery school, during weekends and for dance lessons. He is monolingual in Norwegian, has an outgoing personality and a large vocabulary, partly due to the fact that he has an elder brother 6 years his senior. Marius has always lived in Norway, and in his near family, only one aunt lives outside Norway, in Sweden.

Torben, the interlocutor in the Danish recording, is somewhat less familiar with Vincent. He and Vincent meet approx. twice a year, and then usually only for few days at a time. Since the parents are close friends, however, the boys talk a lot about each other, and Vincent refers to Torben as "min bedste danske ven" – *my best Danish friend*. Torben has

always been very active and rambunctious, is the eldest of two brothers, and is bilingual in Danish and Swedish thanks to his Swedish mother. Torben has always lived in Copenhagen, where he has gone to nursery school since he was 18 months old. He also often travels to Sweden, where his mother's family lives, and his Swedish skills are reportedly very good.

As Vincent does not have any French-speaking playmates, his grandmother participated in the French recording. Vincent is very familiar with his "Petite Mamy", even if they do not see each other more than a few times a year (Chapter 5 contains more detailed information about their encounters). During the recording, they are painting. Since Vincent's grandmother has a background in the arts, this is a recurrent activity for them. Originally a French-speaking Belgian from the Ardennes region, Vincent's grandmother has French as her first language. She has a good working knowledge of Dutch and English too, but knows no Scandinavian languages whatsoever.

### 3.2.3.3 *The Observer's Paradox*

Labov's notion of the Observer's Paradox (1972:209) deals with the difficulty of collecting data objectively and without influencing the informants' speech:

[T]he aim of linguistic research [...] must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation.

With reference to the informant's speech mode (previously discussed in Chapter 2), Grosjean (1998:139) also warns against the influence which even the mere presence of the investigator and outsiders might have, as it might make the informants alter their speech behaviour for the sake of the investigator and outsiders.

It was, therefore, originally the intention that no one but Vincent and his interlocutor should be present during the recordings. However, this proved very unproductive in practice. These recordings therefore also contain contributions from third parties: Vincent's father in the Norwegian recording, and the Danish boy's father in the Danish recording. Furthermore, the Norwegian boy's mother is present during the recording, though without speaking with the boys at any time. The participation of Vincent's (Danish-speaking) father in the Norwegian recording is the cause of a great amount of code-switching by Vincent, who will switch to speaking Danish each time he addresses his father. It is uncertain as to how far it has influenced the frequency with which he has used Danish morphosyntactic units or pronunciation in his interaction with his Norwegian peer. However, as my research question

was about repair as a cue for socialisation, I have not considered the presence of Vincent's father prohibitive to using the recording.

The fact that the Observer's Paradox might not have been as big a problem as anticipated became apparent when I detected Vincent and his peers' attitudes towards being recorded. The Danish recording demonstrates the boys' total lack of interest for it. Even in instances where both boys are being urged to talk (Danish recording, at 8:30 min.), the boys do not ask why or make any references to the recorder. The same can be observed in the French recording, where Vincent's grandmother urges him to talk a lot (at 16:00 min.) without getting any reaction from Vincent. As I was transcribing the data, Vincent got to listen to parts of the recording upon asking to do so. However, he took off the headphones after only a few minutes and never again showed any interest in my project.

While this lack of investment can be inconvenient from a practical point of view, it does offer the invaluable advantage that the children do not alter their speech because they are being recorded. Adults, on the other hand, have in my project proved to have far greater difficulty in abstracting from the fact that they were being observed. The main consequence of this was that they would start to ask Vincent leading questions, or tried to make him display some of the vocabulary they knew he had.

#### *3.2.3.4 Using one's own children as informants*

Studying one's own child presents numerous advantages. One knows the child and its background very well, one always has the child at one's disposal and one avoids being dependent on other parents' efforts to keep journals and make recordings. On the downside, it can be difficult to keep an objective and distanced look at the child and, even more, the parental input strategies which have shaped its abilities and attitudes. I also found that the Observer's Paradox was particularly applicable to me. Like the other adult interlocutors which I used in this study, I was also prone to put words in Vincent's mouth in order to make him display abilities which I knew he had. As an added inconvenience, I also knew the purpose of my study and the answers which I would like to obtain. Especially in a situation with frequent code-switching - as is the case whenever he and I interact - this would have skewed the data in a direction not representative of his normal interaction with me at that age. I therefore decided not to include any recordings of interactions between him and me in this study.



### 3.2.4 *Transcription and coding of the data*

#### 3.2.4.1 *General principles*

The layout and mode of transcription of the data are mainly based on the principles outlined in Ochs (1979), who makes a case for the need of transcriptions to be conveniently arranged for their purpose, providing all necessary details but excluding the unnecessary. I made the following choices.

One reason for preferring Ochs' transcription method (developed for the purpose of studying developmental pragmatics) is that it is easy to overview. Another reason was that the transcription format developed by Jefferson, which is the standard format of transcription in CA, was developed with a view on transcribing English. The utterances in this study, however, are in French, Danish, and Norwegian, which each have their own prosody and even norms for how long a pause is considered turn-transitional space (i.e. the interval after which the next speaker can begin to talk). As Jefferson's system moreover has all utterances in the same column, I considered that it would distract from the focus of this study, and I decided to use Ochs' system instead.

The layout and coding of the transcription was done as follows:

- (i) *One column for Vincent, one for his interlocutor:* I have aimed at emphasising the interactional aspect of the conversations and the focus on Vincent by arranging the interaction in separate columns for Vincent and his interlocutor(s). This explains the arrangement with one column for Vincent, and one for his interlocutor(s), which makes it more easy to see who is saying what. Also, since Vincent is the focus of the study, his utterances are on the left-hand side.
- (ii) *Utterances are divided in turns:* As turns are a unit of analysis in this study, utterances are transcribed with as much of a turn as possible on each line.
- (iii) *Time intervals:* Time intervals are indicated in a separate column to the left of the transcribed utterances. To make quoted utterances easier to find in the transcriptions, time intervals were marked every half minute.
- (iv) *Prosody:* prosody is marked with regard to its interactional relevance, for example, rising intonation indicates a question, while falling intonation indicates a full stop. A list of the symbols used to mark prosody is given at the beginning of this study.

- (v) *Pauses, latching, overlap*: Pauses are marked with one second's precision. Latching (the next speaker starting an utterance while the last speaker hasn't yet stopped talking) and overlap (two speakers talking at the same time) is equally indicated. Symbols used to mark pauses, latching and overlap are listed at the beginning of this study.
- (vi) *Translation*: utterances were translated into English in a separate column to the right of the transcription in the original language.

### 3.2.4.2 Translation into English

To enable those who do not speak Scandinavian and/or French to read the transcriptions, all utterances have been translated into English, including onomatopoeia and idiosyncratic utterances. The onomatopoeia were translated by an equivalent in English, e.g.

(Norwegian recording: Marius at 03:30 min.)      tvi/ tvi !       *twee twee !*

Idiosyncratic utterances were placed between single quotation marks, e.g.

	Vincent	Torben	<i>translation</i>
1 →		kom her ! de bare flaprer etter os ! wr: ! jah !	<i>come here ! they're just flapping behind us!</i> 'wr' ! 'jah' !
2 →	wah ! oah !		'wah' ! 'oah' !
	(Danish recording, 11:00 min.)		

### Phonetic transcriptions

Phonetic transcriptions were given whenever:

- Vincent pronounced Norwegian/Danish allographs or homographs not in the base language. Here, the phonetic transcription explains why the utterance was identified as not being in the base language, e.g.

MUSIKK ! (DK pron.) *selvfølgelig* [σEυφO]hλι]  
*music ! of course*

(Norwegian recording, Vincent at 46:30 min.)

The Norwegian pronunciation of the word (as Vincent would use it in Norwegian) is [σΕλϕΟλγ↔λι].

- Vincent used incorrect pronunciation, e.g.

ou est l'autre élastique ? /υΕτ λοτ ςελασϕτικ/  
*where is the other rubber band ?*

(French recording, Vincent at 30:00 min.)

where the correct pronunciation is /υΕ λοτ ςελασϕτικ/

- Vincent used idiosyncratic pronunciation. If the idiosyncratic pronunciation of a word was followed by an instance where Vincent pronounced the same word normally, this normal pronunciation was also transcribed, e.g.

hm: ! comme ça [Σα] !  
*'hm' ! like that !*

hihi: ! COMME ça [σα]! //comme ç'//  
*'hihi' ! there ! there*

(French recording: Vincent at 10:30 min.)

- there was ambiguity as to the morphology of his utterance, e.g.

il \*[ς{αμαϕσε] les poubelles  
*he collect(ed) the garbage*

(French recording, Vincent at 17:00 min.)

- In most Norwegian dialects (as well as Swedish in Sweden) *tonemic* features help determine the sense of a spoken word, and *tonemes* (contrastive tones which determine the sense of a word) are indicated in phonologic transcriptions. For me as a non-native speaker, who was listening to a recording of one Danish-French-Norwegian trilingual boy and one Norwegian boy whose parents come from different parts of Norway, it was however impossible to identify these tonemic differences, and I could also not be certain of whether the Norwegian boy (and even less the non-native Norwegian

speaking boy) used the tonemic differences appropriately. I have therefore decided not to indicate tonemes in the Norwegian transcription.<sup>11</sup>

### 3.3 Approaches to the analysis of conversation

In her introduction to an overview of different approaches to the analysis of discourse, Schifffrin (1994) describes discourse analysis as one of the most vast, and least defined areas in linguistics. This proliferation she attributes to the variety of academic disciplines on which our understanding of discourse is based. When she then proceeds to differentiate six approaches to discourse according to their origins, it is with the reasoning that “[t]he origin of an approach provides different theoretical and metatheoretical premises that continue to influence assumptions, concepts and methods” (p.13). The approaches then discussed include Conversation Analysis (CA), and its ethnomethodological roots; Speech Act Theory and Pragmatics in the sense of Gricean pragmatics, which both have philosophical roots; interactional sociolinguistics, which is based in anthropology, sociology, and linguistics; variation analysis, which has purely linguistic origins; and ethnography of communication, which has its background within anthropology and linguistics.

The main theoretical and methodological approach used in this study is CA. While CA has its roots in sociology, and is not so much interested in language *per se*, it has gained considerable prestige in linguistic circles. One seminal CA article, which I shall refer to often in Chapter 6 (Schegloff *et al.* (1977)) was published in *Language*, which is considered one of the most prestigious journals in linguistics. Sacks *et al.*’s “A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation” (1974), which is CA’s most prestigious work, also appeared in *Language* and became the journal’s most highly cited article.<sup>12</sup> In the following, I shall argue how the tools of CA can be used to make valid observations based on empirical analysis of excerpts of conversation. Basically, the CA approach can help us expose the “how” of Vincent’s communicative competence, while the “why” will be answered primarily within the framework of CA, but also with the help of other pragmatic notions.

To gain a better picture of CA and its premises, I shall begin with a short presentation of CA and its roots, after which I shall account for my choice of CA as the approach used in my study.

---

<sup>11</sup> I am grateful to Inger Moen for outlining the concept of tonemes for me, and for advising me in the question of how to handle them with regard to my transcription.

<sup>12</sup> The Editor’s Department, *Language* 3, 2003.

### 3.3.1 *The sociological roots of Conversation Analysis*

CA has its intellectual roots in ethnomethodology, a sociological theory developed by Harold Garfinkel. Ethnomethodology is especially concerned with the procedural study of common-sense activities, without recourse to notions like intentionality or motives, and without striving to offer rationalistic explanations of complex data. Ethnomethodology considers the study of “ethnic” (i.e. the participant’s own) methods of production and interpretation of social action to be the proper object of sociological study, and strives to remain independent from interpretation and theoretical preconceptions. (Li Wei 2002:160-3;177).

CA itself was developed in the early 1960s by Harvey Sacks and Emanuel Schegloff. Their interest was to carry out empirical analyses of the details of actual practices of people in interaction. Although Sacks and Schegloff made it clear from the onset that their interest was sociological rather than linguistic, and aimed at studying the interactional organisation of social activities, CA is practiced by sociologists, anthropologists, linguists and communicative scientists (ten Have 1999:5,6,9; Hutchby and Wooffit 1998:14).

Li Wei (2002:163, 177) lists three basic principles of CA:

- (i) social order resides in everyday social life;
- (ii) to “know” what people are doing, you must show *how* they’re doing it;
- (iii) analysts’ claims must be proven by evidence from people’s everyday social life, and must show that participants aligned themselves in the interaction.

Thus, what distinguishes CA from other sociological perspectives, is that CA sees language as a means, through which a method for the creation of ordered activity is generated. As such, it focuses on the collaboration between the participants - the interactional aspect - in conversation, while other sociological perspectives rather see language as the medium for expression of intentions, motives and interests. These perspectives analyse just talk, and not *talk-in-interaction* as CA does. Consequently, CA analyses utterances from the interlocutors’, and not the analyst’s, perspective, and analyses the utterances not as semantic units, but according to their function in the interaction. In order to grasp the functions of utterances in interaction, CA is interested in the machinery of conversation, which they refer to as “organization”.

### 3.3.2 *Qualitative and quantitative approaches to discourse*

One essential difference to be aware of when considering different approaches to discourse is that between qualitative and quantitative research methods in general. Lazaraton (2002:33) deplores that neither Schiffrin (1994) nor her colleague compilers of discourse analytic approaches elaborate on this difference. The following dichotomies are often used to characterise the distinction:

*Table 3.2: Characteristics of qualitative and quantitative research*

<b>Qualitative research</b>	<b>Quantitative research</b>
naturalistic	controlled
observational	experimental
subjective	objective
descriptive	inferential
process-oriented	outcome-oriented
valid	reliable
holistic	particularistic
“real”, “rich”, “deep” data	hard, replicable data
ungeneralisable single case analysis	generalisable aggregate analysis

(Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991, quoted in Lazaraton 2002:33)

To sum up the basic difference between the two approaches, we can say that qualitative analysis deals with the *why* and *how* questions, while quantitative analysis deals with *how often*. The method chosen will, then, depend both on one’s academic affiliation, the research material at hand, and the research questions one seeks to answer.

CA as an essentially qualitative approach clearly seems the approach of choice for this study, since our fundamental concern is with the informant’s socialisation to the norms of three different speech communities. Language socialisation is an interactional process, in which contributions from all interlocutors are relevant, and where not only the interlocutors, but especially the interaction itself, as well as its context, must be taken into consideration. Moreover, language socialisation takes place in natural settings, which cannot be rendered efficiently in experimental situations, since these can not take into account all factors that influence the socialisation process (as an example, we can consider the influence that the very location of a conversation can have on bilinguals’ and trilinguals’ speech).. Finally, considering all aspects of an interaction means also taking into account non-occurrences of a phenomenon under investigation (see, for example, Schegloff 1993:110), since non-occurrence can sometimes tell us more about the relevance of the phenomenon than the occurrences

themselves. Adopting a naturalistic, holistic, process-oriented – and therefore qualitative - approach therefore seemed the only logical way to proceed given the subject of my thesis.<sup>13</sup>

### 3.3.3 *How and why*

CA considers that questions about the “how” in interaction must be answered before we can turn to “why” (Li Wei 1998), and that explanation of the interaction must be sought in the organisation of the conversation, and not with the interlocutors, circumstances, etc. for which speech is a medium of expression. Schegloff (1992:125) clearly expresses this point when he states that

There is, to my mind, no escaping the observation that context, which is most proximately and consequentially *temporal* and *sequential*, is not like some penthouse to be added after the structure of action has been built out of constitutive intentional, logical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic/speech-act-theoretic bricks.

According to the two-step approach proposed by Li Wei (1998), the analyst must therefore first unravel in what sequences the interaction is structured, primarily through an analysis of the turn-taking structure of conversation in general and the phenomenon under investigation in particular. Then, the analyst can try to seek explanations for the structures which he has just discovered by interpreting his findings. By adopting such an approach, our analysis can be context-free, with the possibility of being context-sensitive at the same time. This aspect is a fundamental concern within CA, and was explicitly voiced in Sacks *et al.*'s afore mentioned landmark CA article (Sacks *et al.* 1974:699-700) on the organisation of turn-taking in conversation:

[...] we have found reasons to take seriously the possibility that a characterization of turn-taking organization for conversation could be developed which would have the important twin features of being context-free and capable of extraordinary context-sensitivity. [...] Conversation can accommodate a wide range of situations, interactions in which persons in varieties (or varieties of groups) of identities are operating; it can be sensitive to the various combinations; and it can be capable of dealing with a change of situation within a situation. Hence there must be some formal apparatus which is itself context-free, in such way that it can, in local instances of its operation, be sensitive to and exhibit its sensitivity to various parameters of social reality in a local context.

---

<sup>13</sup> For a different approach to the use of repair by bilingual children, see the study by Comeau and Genesee (2001), which adopts a quantitative, experimental procedure for the analysis of bilingual children's understanding of the causes of breakdown in conversation, and notably their ability to identify whether the breakdown is code-related or not.

To correctly define the contextual, interactional and sequential properties of discourse identities, one must therefore first uncover the structures through which these discourse identities are negotiated in conversation, before one can turn to the question of why these discourse identities are negotiated in this manner. By obtaining such a context-free/context-sensitive quality, we obtain an analysis which can claim to be from the interlocutor's, and not the analyst's perspective, and which will therefore give the most accurate representation of the phenomenon under examination.

### 3.3.4 *The analytical approach in this study*

Schegloff *et al.* (2002:7) underscore three points regarding CA's treatment of repair. Firstly, they state that "the practices of repair at issue for CA are discursive and interactional, not cognitive". Secondly, "(t)he courses of conduct treated as "repair" in CA involve the parties stopping the course of action otherwise in progress". Thirdly, they point out that CA only deals with problems of understanding *the talk* describing events, conduct, etc., and not of understanding events, conduct, etc. themselves.

Following the rationale outlined in the above section and Schegloff *et al.*'s rationale regarding the CA approach to repair, my analysis will be divided in a "how"-part (Chapter 6) and a "why"-part (Chapter 7). The "how"-part will be concerned with an elaboration on the organisational aspects of repair as they occur in my data, in order to obtain a context-free picture of the facts. In the "why" part (Chapter 7), I shall explore the context-sensitive potential of the "how" analysis by interpreting the results obtained and focusing on aspects of contextualisation, interactional achievement, and sequentiality. The outcome of this two-step approach shall then be used to draw conclusions as to how a trilingual child is socialised into interactional rules through repair in conversations with members of different speech communities.

## **3.4 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have first presented the data on which my thesis is based: diary notes and recordings of earlier speech for the presentation of the child under investigation in this study, and three half-hour transcriptions of natural conversation for the analysis proper. I have also accounted for the manner in which I transcribed the data, arguing that since it was



important to distinguish the contributions from each interlocutor, utterances were written down in separate columns, and that I have attempted to avoid giving excessive information about prosody, since this would detract from the focus of the thesis.

I have also pointed out that this study shall consider repair in the sense given to it within the CA framework. I have then argued that CA is the most appropriate methodology for analysing the data in this study because CA focuses on the interaction through which socialisation takes place, which enables us to consider repair from the interlocutors' point of view, and take into account both the context and non-occurrence of repair. In my elaboration on the difference between qualitative and quantitative approaches to research, I have pointed out how a qualitative approach is an essential part of the CA framework. Finally, I have explained the manner in which I shall structure my analysis, in that I shall turn to the "how" questions before addressing the "why" in an effort to obtain an analysis which is both context-free and context-sensitive, and from the perspective of the interlocutors and not the analyst.

## 4 An unequal triangle

### 4.1 Introduction

Our main informant's linguistic constellation is that of two Scandinavian languages and one Romance language. Scandinavian languages are so closely related that many researchers speak of a dialectal relationship on the morpho-syntactic and semantic level.<sup>14</sup> Scandinavian and French, on the other hand, belong to two separate language families – albeit within the language family of Indo-European languages – and the relationship is, therefore, far more distant.

As there is an important influence from typological similarities between languages, regardless of when they were learned (Cenoz and Genesee 1998:22), we shall expect to find a greater degree of cross-linguistic influence between Danish and Norwegian than between French and Scandinavian.

While the subject of this study is language socialisation through interaction and not the interlocutors' languages and linguistic proficiency *per se*, it is necessary here to take a closer look at the languages in our main informant's linguistic arsenal for the sake of getting a clearer picture of the tools he is working with, and the obstacles to communication which can arise from the cross-linguistic differences between the languages. The purpose of this chapter is to give some more background information about the languages spoken by our informant, whose linguistic proficiency I shall return to in Chapter 5, which is devoted to a description of him. In the following, I shall first give a brief outline of the relation between French and the Scandinavian languages, and between Danish and Norwegian respectively. I shall then turn to the relation between Danish and Norwegian, as the great similarity between these closely related languages brings up various questions.

---

<sup>14</sup> According to a personal communication by Helge Lødrup.

## 4.2 French and Scandinavian

### 4.2.1 *A comparison of French and Scandinavian typology*

While I had expected to find an extensive literature on this subject, French being a subject on the Norwegian school curriculum, I have despite my best efforts had difficulty in locating references which were useful for this section. The topics of typological comparison presented here are, therefore, based on Clark's article on the acquisition of Romance languages (1985), Plunkett and Strömquist's article on the acquisition of Scandinavian languages (1992), and a Danish guide to French phonology (Landschultz 1984).

#### 4.2.1.1 *Morphology and syntax*

While Scandinavian languages do not mark aspectual distinctions through verb inflection and instead, render these aspects by lexical or syntactic means (Plunkett and Strömquist 1992:462), French, like most Indo-European languages does mark aspectual distinctions through verb inflection.

In both Scandinavian and French, the canonical form of simple declarative sentences is SVO. (Plunkett and Strömquist 1992:463; Clark 1985:688) The French system is, however, a mixed case, since articles, possessive pronouns, and prepositions precede nouns, while most adjectival modifiers follow them (Clark 1985:688).

#### 4.2.1.2 *Phonology*

According to Landschultz (1984:62) accentuation is much less distinctive in French than it is in Danish, and therefore, there is no deletion of non-accentuated vowels, or weakening of non-accentuated vocals to [↔]. It is difficult, she notes, to objectively determine patterns of accentuation in a foreign language, since accentuation is an auditive phenomenon, shaped by the mother tongue(s) of the speaker-listener (Landschultz 1984:60).

Significant in the context of our study is the phenomenon in French of *liaison* (Landschultz 1984:63-70), where final consonants in a word, which are usually not articulated, sometimes are articulated immediately in front of a vocal or semi-vocal. We shall see in our recordings that our informant still has a few problems determining when to make a liaison and when not, as in e.g. "où est \*la élastique ?" [vEɛ̃ la ɛlaстик] –instead of "où

est l'élastique ?" [ᵛ̥ ̄E λελασυτικ] *where is the rubber band ?* and "où est l'autre élastique?" [ʊEᵛ̥ λoτ ̣ελασυτικ] instead of [ʊE λoτp ̣ελασυτικ] *where is the other rubber band ?* (French recording, 0:30 min.)

#### 4.2.1.3 Vocabulary

Apart from French loan-words in Scandinavian, which by now are standard part of Danish and Norwegian vocabulary, there are no *faux-amis* or other pitfalls in the same way as is the case in inter-Scandinavian communication.

#### 4.2.2 French in Denmark and Norway

In my personal experience, French is - especially compared to English - by no means omnipresent in Denmark and Norway, and by consequence, most Danes and Norwegians have very little or no exposure to the language. Danish and Norwegian children can, unless they happen to have special relations with French-speaking countries, safely be assumed to have no knowledge of French at all. French does, however, have the status of a prestige language, and knowledge of French can therefore still be considered valorised<sup>15</sup> in Denmark and Norway.

### 4.3 Danish and Norwegian

#### 4.3.1 A preliminary note

Plunkett and Strömquist (1992:458) refer to the "extensive dialectal variation" in Danish, Swedish and Norwegian, and distinguish four languages in present-day Mainland Scandinavian: standard Danish, Bokmål (a standard Norwegian based on both Old Norwegian and Old Danish), Nynorsk (a written standard based on spoken mainly western Norwegian dialects), and standard Swedish.

---

<sup>15</sup> Valorisation is defined by Hamers and Blanc (2000:9) as "the attribution of certain positive values to language as a functional tool, that is, as an instrument which will facilitate the fulfilment of communicative and cognitive functioning at all societal and individual levels".

We shall here only be concerned with Danish and Bokmål, which I shall henceforth refer to as Norwegian, since the other Norwegian standard, Nynorsk, is a written standard not used in the environments in which our informant fares.

#### 4.3.2 *A dialectal relationship ?*

In their cross-linguistic study on the acquisition of Scandinavian, Plunkett and Strömquist (1992:469) report on the small internal variation between Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, and on the ease with which these relatively small linguistic differences can be detected. They further note that

We observe that the three languages Danish, Norwegian and Swedish show striking similarities with respect to grammatical structure. In terms of lexical similarity, Danish and Norwegian are the closest pairing of the three. In terms of phonology, Swedish and Norwegian are the closest. By implication, Swedish and Danish are the least similar languages within the typologically rather homogeneous group of Scandinavian languages.

While many researchers in Nordic languages only see dialectal differences between Norwegian and Danish –, it would hardly be popular in Norway to characterise Norwegian as a conglomerate of northern Danish dialects. Both languages, although closely related, have their own lexicon, have some morphological differences between the languages, and both languages can be used for a full range of functions in a full range of situations. Both languages also have their own speech community. From a bilingual point of view, this functional distinction is fundamental, since dialect and “standard” language are normally in complementary distribution to each other, with the “high” variety being used in more official contexts, and the “low” variety in colloquial situations. Thus, neither of these varieties will be used in a full range of functions by the speakers of this speech community. While the regional dialects of Norway have been legally attributed the same “high” status as Bokmål, Danish is not normally included in the list of Norwegian dialects. Moreover, Norwegian is certainly not normally counted amongst the dialects of Danish, and Denmark has not, like Norway, attributed an official “high” status to the regional variations on “Rigsdansk” – *Standard Danish*. It would therefore be hard to maintain that Danish and Norwegian are in dialectal distribution from a functional point of view, since neither language can be said to be included among the other speech-community’s range of dialects.

The reason for this is historical. Norway was a part of Denmark until 1814, when Norway was ceded to Sweden, with which it was in a State Union until 1905. During this

period of State Union, Norway had its own constitution and independent institutions, and a strong nationalist movement made great efforts to develop an independent Norwegian language, the two varieties of which in 1929 were officially named “Bokmål” and “Riksmål”. Thus, the two varieties of Modern Norwegian were able to develop into a language in its own right.<sup>16</sup> I therefore claim that at least at the pragmatic level – which is the level with which we are mostly concerned here – Danish and Norwegian are indeed separate languages.

#### 4.3.3 *The Scandinavian semi-communication*

The term “semi-communication” was coined by Einar Haugen, who defined the linguistic situation in Scandinavia as “the trickle of messages through a rather high level of code noise” – code noise being differences in the linguistic codes that hamper communication without totally obstructing it (Haugen 1966, quoted in Vikør 2001:121). Uhlmann (1996:76-7) reports, that contrary to what Scandinavians themselves like to believe, most Scandinavians do not adapt their speech to make it “interscandinavian”, but rather adapt the speech context, placing the achievement of common understanding as a central concern in the conversation. Thus, repair becomes a central feature in these conversations, which she reports have been termed “problematic conversations” or “miscommunication” by conversational analysts and communication researchers.

In his seminal study on the understanding of closely related languages in Scandinavia, Maurud (1976:43-4) points at vocabulary as the “probably most important” reason for misunderstandings between Scandinavians, even though the majority of the core vocabulary of the Mainland Scandinavian languages is common. As other factors hampering communication, he mentions phonemic and prosodic features.

In a study on the lexical long-time accommodation of Danes in Norway, Brodersen (1998) takes a socio-psychological outlook at the issue. She reports a lack of sociolinguistic research on Danes’ language use in Norway, even though several publications exist on inter-Scandinavian understanding and communication. She calls the question of whether her Danish informants speak Danish or Norwegian complicated and ambiguous. She notes, that most Norwegians would say that her informants speak Danish, while Danes in Denmark would consider those most influenced by Norwegian as Norwegian speakers. Interestingly,

---

<sup>16</sup> By comparison, we can consider Flemish and Dutch. Flemish is the language spoken by the Dutch-speaking population of Belgium. For geographical and historical reasons, and especially due to the long-reigning dominance of the French-speaking population in Belgium, Flemish was never unified and standardised. (Geerts 1997:594-6). Officially, it therefore still has the status of “General Southern Netherlandic” dialect, and Flemish is clearly a “Low” variant of standard Dutch.

her research reveals that amongst her 11 Danish informants, 8 report that they speak/spoke Norwegian with their children. Brodersen does, however warn against the widespread exaggeration of the lexical differences between Norwegian and Danish. The communicative significance of these differences, she claims, is modest, since in actual fact, the context of homonyms, *faux amis* and the like often gives away the intention of the speaker. On the other hand, there has only been scarce research on the significance of everyday language, slang, and idiom in internordic communication. Brodersen concludes her study by reporting about the widespread attitude according to which Scandinavians should stick to their own language when engaging in interscandinavian communication. Thus, amongst the informants in her project, there are both “idealists”, who avoid mixing Danish and Norwegian as much as possible, and “pragmatists”, who find it natural to speak as Norwegian as possible.

Ringbom (1989:79) reminds us of one important difference between intelligibility and linguistic similarity: intelligibility is not necessarily symmetrical. Thus, Norwegians are the ones to best understand the other Mainland Scandinavian languages, Danish and Swedish. Amongst the reasons for this asymmetry, the following factors have been noted (Ohlsson 1981, quoted in Ringbom 1989:79-80): habit of dealing with linguistic variation (extensive in Norway, where all dialects are equal according to the law, limited in Denmark); big/little brother complex; exposure to the other language through media; degree of direct contact with the inhabitants of the other country; myths about difficulties in the other language. Ringbom’s conclusion (Ringbom 1989:80) is that all in all, Danish is the language which the other Scandinavians find hardest to understand, and that consequently Danes are the ones having to make the biggest effort to be understood.

In the context of Scandinavian semi-communication, the study by Maurud (1976) has been seminal. In accordance with later studies, it concluded (pp. 140-1) that Danish was understood better in Norway than in Sweden; Norwegians were the best at understanding other Scandinavian languages, and Norwegian was understood slightly better in Denmark than in Sweden. None of the three languages could be called Scandinavia’s “leading” language. The research also showed that cross-linguistic understanding of written closely related languages was much better than that of spoken language.

## 4.4 Conclusion

I have here argued that although Norwegian and Danish are closely related on the morphosyntactic and lexical level, they are to be considered as separate languages as far as the pragmatic level is concerned.

Inter-Scandinavian communication is to be considered as semi-communication, where the achievement of common understanding becomes a central concern. In the language pair Danish-Norwegian, the greatest difference is in phonology. Although a large number of lexical *faux amis* do exist, these are well-documented, and do not usually pose as great an obstruction to understanding as is popularly assumed. It is regrettable, that there seem to be no studies - other than this one - on children's simultaneous or consecutive acquisition of more than one Scandinavian language.

As the difference between French and Scandinavian is so much greater than that between Danish and Norwegian, the cross-linguistic influences are few, and errors are generally due to the fact that some phenomena exist in one language and not the other. Although French is a prestige language in Scandinavia, most Scandinavians are not familiar with it.



# 5 A trilingual 5-year-old

## 5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I shall present the trilingual child Vincent, who is the main informant in this study. As this study takes an interactional, sociolinguistic approach to trilingualism, this account provides background information on the language socialisation process which Vincent has been through, his communicative competence and his response to language socialisation, which will help us in our analysis of his language socialisation through repair.

In Sections 5.2 to 5.5, I will therefore elaborate on the linguistic input which Vincent has received, especially from his caregivers, up to the time of recording. More specifically, I shall in Sections 5.2 and 5.3 give an account of Vincent's childhood (for as far as deemed relevant to this study), after which I will elaborate on the patterns of exposure to L1s (French and Danish), L2 (Greenlandic), and L3 (Norwegian) in Section 5.4. Then, I shall in Section 5.5 turn to another important feature of linguistic socialisation: the discourse strategies adopted by the members of Vincent's family, and particularly his parents as primary caregivers. Section 5.6 will be concerned with the other side of the medal, as it gives an account of Vincent's linguistic development from the time he arrived in Norway at age 3;3 and until age 5;3, when the recordings were made. The first feature I have chosen to give an account of in Section 5.6 is his development from speaking Danish to Norwegian to speaking Norwegian to Norwegians and even mixing some Norwegian in his Danish. This feature is important in light of the cross-linguistic influence of such closely related languages as Danish and Norwegian, which I have presented in Chapter 4. I shall then turn to Vincent's acquisition of French and French mixing in non-French speech from the time he arrived in Norway and until the time of recording.

Critics of Section 5.6 might reproach me for not giving a fuller account of his linguistic skills, such as to give non-speakers of Scandinavian and French better possibilities to see what linguistic tools Vincent actually had at his disposal during the recordings. I have several reasons for only giving a concise, thematic account of his abilities. Firstly, as I have pointed out in Chapter 2, it is erroneous to compare the trilingual speaker-listener to the monolingual speaker-listener, since trilinguals have a more specific distribution of skills according to the functions which they use for each of their languages. Secondly, a linguistic account of Vincent's skills in each of his languages would not be able to fully factor in the influence of Vincent's well-developed crosslinguistic awareness. Thirdly, I soon found out that trying to give a global, accurate description of his linguistic abilities in each of the

languages French, Danish and Norwegian would be impossible within the framework of this study, and that moreover, it would be besides this study's focus on socialisation and interaction.

## 5.2 Vincent's family and personality

Vincent was born in Copenhagen on 7 December 1997, as the first-born child of a Danish father and a Belgian/Dutch mother – the author. While his father's family is all Danish from the Copenhagen area, I grew up in a French-Dutch bilingual family in The Hague. Vincent's maternal grandmother, a French-speaking Belgian from the Ardennes region, has always spoken French with her children, and continues to do so with her grandchildren, with whom she keeps close contact. Vincent's parents both have academic degrees.

As an only child and only grandchild on his mother's side, Vincent has received a great amount of exclusive attention, and has often found himself the sole child in the company of many doting adults, which has provided him with considerable amounts of linguistic stimulation. It is also safe to say that he definitely belongs to the category of extrovert children. He is very fond of communicating, is very expressive both linguistically and physically, and has an all-in-all outspoken gregarious disposition.

Since Vincent's father does not speak French and Dutch very well, and I had reasonable knowledge of Danish when we met, my husband and I have always spoken Danish together. I moved to Copenhagen in 1993 and was well-integrated into Danish society by the time Vincent was born, even though we did have a large contingent of foreign friends, and I had always worked in international environments.

Strangely, the question of which language to speak with my children had never preoccupied me much. Bilinguality had always been a fact of life, and had never really caused any problems. But face to face with a baby to raise, choices had to be made. After three months of indecisiveness and switching between Danish, Dutch and French, I decided to raise Vincent bilingually, and to speak French with him both for the sake of his maternal grandmother, and for the pragmatic reason that the combination of a widely used Romance language and a more rarely used Germanic language (at the time, we had no intention of leaving Denmark) would be a greater asset for him than a combination of two rarely used Germanic languages. This pragmatic reasoning underlying language choice by bilingual parents I later found mirrored in Deprez's study of bilingual families in France (1999).

Despite my degree in translation, I had no idea that bilingualism was the object of an entire independent discipline in linguistics (the family did not yet have access to the internet). The whole matter of bilingual childrearing was, therefore, dealt with by reading a 2-page passage in a French childrearing book,<sup>17</sup> which incidentally was the only one of my childrearing books that addressed the issue at all.

From the day I made my decision, I stuck to speaking French with Vincent, and told my family to do the same. Vincent's father, his family, and later Vincent's Copenhagen daycare, spoke Danish.

From birth until age 1;3, Vincent visited his Frenchspeaking grandparents in The Netherlands for about two weeks every two months, and he also paid several visits to the French-speaking family in Belgium. Although everyone spoke French to Vincent during these visits, the Dutch-speaking part of the family - myself included - would often lapse into speaking Dutch amongst each other even in Vincent's presence.

## 5.3 Moving around

### 5.3.1 Age 0;0 – 1;3: Denmark

Vincent stayed at home with me from birth and until age 0;7, after which I resumed full-time employment, and he was placed into full-time daycare with a Danish lady whom I had met at Mothers' Group. Vincent stayed with this lady from age 0;7 to age 1;2.

At the age of 1;2, Vincent was taken into care by his French-speaking grandparents for 3 weeks, as his father was by then living in Greenland and I was finalising the family's relocation from Copenhagen to join him.

### 5.3.2 Age 1;3 – 3;3: Greenland

Vincent relocated to Nuuk, the capital of Greenland at the age of 1;3. It had from the onset been our intention stay there for 2 years only. After a period of 5 months where I stayed at home with Vincent, I started in full-time employment again when Vincent was 1;7 years, and he was placed with a daycare. It had originally been our intention to place Vincent with a Danish daycare, but he adamantly refused to have anything to do with the Danish ladies in whose home we tried to place him. While in the communal daycare center with his second Danish daycare, he met a Greenlandic lady whom he followed around the rest of the day, and

---

<sup>17</sup> Laurence Pernoud, *J'élève mon enfant*, Horay, 1997.

arrangements were made for her to become his permanent daycare. In total, he had spent no more than 2 weeks, and then only a few hours a day, with his Danish daycare ladies. Remarkably, a language totally unknown to him had been no obstacle to instant bonding with a Greenlandic person.

Vincent stayed with his Greenlandic daycare from age 1;11 and until he left Greenland at age 3;3. Although she did have a working knowledge of Danish and a Danish husband, we told her to speak Greenlandic with Vincent, as he was the only non-Greenlandic child in her care and we didn't want him to feel left out. It is, however, questionable whether the caregiver did actually only speak Greenlandic with Vincent - despite her assurances of the contrary - since she was able to communicate in Danish effortlessly and perceived Vincent as a "Danes' child". Vincent could, however, communicate effortlessly with the monolingual Greenlandic children after only a few months in her care. She and the other municipal daycare ladies were very positive towards his trilingualism, and Vincent soon became known throughout the whole town's daycare network.

While still a part of Denmark, Greenland has had its own Home Rule Government since 1979, and is officially bilingual. In 1998, the country had a population of 56.076, of which 6.430 are from other Nordic countries, including 6.432 from Denmark. More than 11.000 Greenlanders/persons born in Greenland lived in Denmark. Nuuk, the capital, where Vincent lived with his parents, had a population of almost 13.000 inhabitants, of which 3.500 were from other countries, mostly from Denmark.<sup>18</sup> Due to the small population in Greenland and the country's tight links with Denmark, fluency in Danish is a prerequisite for higher education and social advancement, and all the way up until the 1980s, when child bilingualism was frowned upon, parents were encouraged to speak only Danish with their children if they were at all able to do so. As a consequence, one can find quite a number of Greenlandic and mixed Greenlandic/Danish people in the Nuuk area who can only speak Danish.

Greenlandic belongs to the family of polysynthetic languages, which are dramatically different from the Indo-European languages on all linguistic levels. Greenlanders who have not learned Danish since early childhood will therefore encounter great difficulties in acquiring even a working knowledge of Danish at a later age, and vice-versa, those who have not learned Greenlandic since their early childhood find it very hard to do so at a later stage in life.

---

<sup>18</sup> Source: NAPA - The Nordic Institute in Greenland, *Facts on Greenland Kalaallit Nunaat - the largest island in the world*, 2nd rev. ed., 1998

Most of the Danes in Nuuk only stay for 2-3 years, after which their contracts are fulfilled and they are entitled to a paid relocation home. With the surge of Greenlandic nationalism, it has become politically correct for permanent and non-permanent residents to at least attempt to master Greenlandic language, and ability to speak Greenlandic in addition to Danish is a must in the Greenlandic upper classes. Nevertheless, the vast majority of Danish toddlers are looked after by Danish-speaking personnel, and afterwards continue in Danish-speaking schoolclasses with some tuition of Greenlandic. Vincent's simultaneous acquisition of Danish, French and Greenlandic therefore aroused a lot of interest, comments and advice, which was mostly positive, but could also contain Armageddon-like predictions of miscommunication and semilingualism.

As a remedy to communication failures due to the fact that my husband and I didn't understand Greenlandic and his daycare didn't understand French, I made a small glossary of "Vincent words" which was regularly updated. This glossary enabled parents and daycare to better understand Vincent's mixed utterances, and limited the number of times he got deeply frustrated because his surroundings did not understand what he was saying.

Unfortunately, no audio- or video-recordings have been made of Vincent's skills in Greenlandic. He was also very shy about speaking the language with those whom he did not perceive as people he would speak Greenlandic with, and it is therefore very hard to make any sort of formal assessment of what skills he managed to acquire. Since Vincent no longer spoke Greenlandic when the recordings for this study were made, any further consideration of the language will not be included in this study. Even though the long-term effects of Vincent's contact with Greenlandic would be very hard to evaluate, it is highly plausible that the language has had a lasting impact on his linguistic abilities, and it is therefore important not to forget that it was there at some point.

### *5.3.3 Age 3;3 – 5;3: Norway*

When Vincent was 3;3 years old, the family relocated to Norway, where we are to stay for an indefinite amount of time. The relocation was hard on him, especially since he could not start in nursery school straight away, and therefore did not get a new social circle to compensate for the loss of the previous one. He refused to hear or speak any Greenlandic, and would become aggressive whenever his father and I tried to play his Greenlandic songs, or a

Greenlandic acquaintance in Denmark tried to speak a few words to him. All the Greenlandic words incorporated in the family jargon soon disappeared.

At the age of 3;5, Vincent started in his new nursery school, initially on a part-time basis, but from the age of 3;9 full-time. This remedied greatly to his mourning over the loss of his Greenlandic friends and daycare. He would happily talk about and show pictures of his life in Greenland to the personnel and his new playmates, and was quick to notice the interest he suscited with his tales. Nevertheless, he never attempted to recollect anything of the Greenlandic language until age 5;1, when he asked us to play him his CD with Greenlandic children's songs. Even this interest was of a passing nature and at the time of recording, any references to Greenland and Greenlandic were purely anecdotal.

By the time the recordings for this study were made, Vincent was 5;3 years old and in his last year of nursery school. He would readily converse in both Norwegian, Danish and French and had regular contact with his French-speaking grandparents as well as his family and friends in Denmark. He still lived with both his parents and was looking forward to the birth of his little brother. His favourite playmates included Norwegian children from his nursery school class, as well as older boys living in his apartment block. The latter were both foreign speakers of Norwegian with a Hispanic and Filippino background.

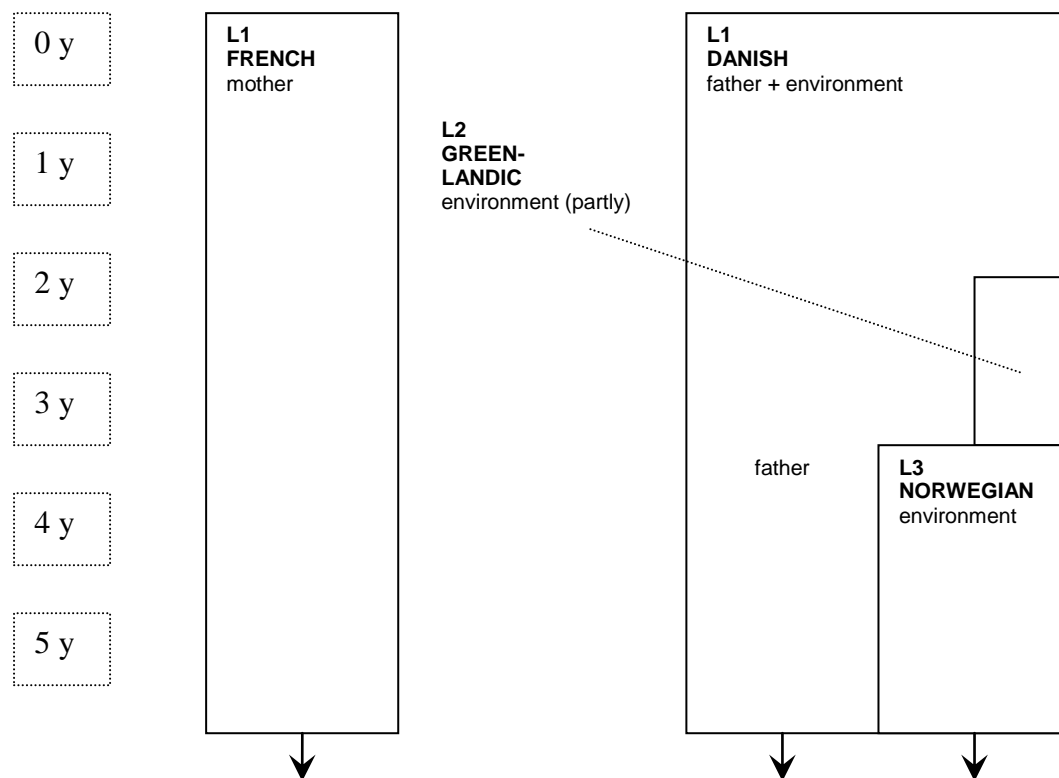
## 5.4 Pattern of exposure to L1s, L2 and L3

As Vincent acquired Danish and French from birth, both languages are his L1. From the age of 1;8 to 3;3, Vincent was in contact with Greenlandic. He acquired a sufficient amount of communicative competence in this language to socialise with monolingual Greenlandic peers, which is why I attribute Greenlandic the status of L2 for the purpose of this study. I do concede, however, that this criterion might not be applicable in the context of other studies. (See Romaine (1995:11-19, 25) for the different definitions of bilingualism. She concludes that the concept of bilingualism is a relative notion, and that factors other than proficiency must be taken into account.)

Vincent acquired Norwegian upon his arrival in Norway at the age of 3;3 and consequently, Norwegian is his L3. Furthermore, Norwegian and Danish are closely related which is why Vincent's knowledge of Danish will have had greater impact on his acquisition of Norwegian than his knowledge of French.

A schematic representation could look like this:

*Table 5.1: Vincent's exposure to Danish, French, Greenlandic, and Norwegian*



The table clearly shows that at the time of recording, Danish was the language to which Vincent had been exposed most. Exposure to French has been more or less constant since birth, whereas exposure to Norwegian only started at age 3;3. Exposure to Greenlandic lasted from age 1;7 to age 3;3.

As described in chapter 4, Norwegian and Danish are closely related both linguistically and culturally. Many children's songs, for example, are pan-Scandinavian,<sup>19</sup> and exist in a Danish, a Norwegian and a Swedish version. Thus, Vincent has from the onstart been able to draw parallels to Danish language and Danish children's culture when acquiring Norwegian. He has also been able to express himself in Danish and still be understood by most of his Norwegian interlocutors, thereby gaining easier access to Norwegian language and society than if he had only known French.

<sup>19</sup> Moreover, many of these Scandinavian children's songs have been translated into Greenlandic. Knowing this Greenlandic version of songs has also helped Vincent in the acquisition of Norwegian.

## 5.5 Discourse Strategy in Vincent's family

### 5.5.1 General parental strategy

My husband and I have from the onstart followed the so-called Grammont's principle, or "one person one language" approach (hereafter called OPOL), and have each spoken his or her own language to Vincent. However, this strategy has not been applied consistently: when social circumstances make it necessary, I readily switch to speaking Danish or Norwegian, for example during sing-along games in nursery school, and Vincent's father can playfully address Vincent in French and even Dutch sometimes.

Persons are normally quoted and imitated in their own language, and since Vincent associates languages with the persons he speaks with, he refers to his different languages as (in Norwegian) "Petite Mamy/Andy/Barnehage sitt språk" - *Grandma/Andy/nursery school's language* or (in Danish) "det sprog som Petite Mamy/Andy/Barnehage snakker" - *the language that Grandma/Andy/nursery school speak(s)*). Bilinguals are identified by the language which they usually speak with Vincent.

One area where the OPOL-strategy is abandoned for the sake of efficiency is explanation. Translation is often used instead of description when Vincent asks about words for which he knows the concept, for example he might not know what (in French) a "vis" – *screw* is, but he has spent many hours doing carpentry work with his father and therefore is certain to know the Danish word for it. It is therefore easier to explain (in French) "Papa il dit **(DK) skrue**" - *Dad says screw* than to describe the object to him.

### 5.5.2 Secret and unknown languages

The use of "secret languages", by which I mean switching to a language not understood by third parties which the speaker and listener do not wish to eavesdrop on their conversation, is widespread in Vincent's family. Thus, I can speak Danish with Vincent in France, for example when commenting on strange-looking people. On the other hand, I also speak Dutch and English in Vincent's presence when he is not to eavesdrop on a conversation I am having with someone else. Vincent also hears his parents speak languages he does not understand for more unintended reasons: his father communicates in English with his mother's family since he does not understand or speak French and Dutch well, and his mother speaks Dutch with her father, siblings, and Dutch acquaintances.



Efforts have been made to familiarise Vincent with some elements of Dutch culture, for example the celebration of “Sinterklaas” on the evening of December 5th, which with its songs and many presents leading up to and on the day is more important to Dutch children than Christmas. However, these efforts have been abandoned, as Vincent shows no interest whatsoever in Dutch language and culture, and demonstrates irritation and annoyance whenever people in his presence communicate in Dutch. Famous in the whole family are his calls of “parle français, Grand Papy !” - *speak French, Granddad !* whenever his grandfather speaks Dutch in his presence.

Deprez (1999) remarks that it is usual for children to dislike hearing languages which they do not understand. Yet, Vincent does demonstrate a keen interest in English and has even shown interest in German, which he sometimes hears on satellite children’s TV, and Italian, which he has heard while on holiday in the south of France. The following example can illustrate the latter:

*Example 5.1: Speaking an unknown language*

*Vincent is playing on the beach in a tourist resort on the French Riviera*

<b>Vincent</b>	<b>Italian boy</b>
	parlo Italiano ? <i>do you speak Italian ?</i>
no, francese [vɔʁŋfʁɑ̃sɛz]	<i>no, French</i>

(Diary note July 2002, at 4;7 years)

Although Vincent does not speak Italian, he has caught the drift of the boy’s question, plausibly by making cross-linguistic associations with French. He obviously has also picked up on the Italian words “no” and “francese”, which he also reproduces here.

### 5.5.3 French

Language planning aimed at maintaining and developing Vincent’s French skills has been conscious ever since the final decision to raise him bilingually and with French was taken. Conscious efforts are required as Vincent and I do not participate in any French-speaking network in Norway, and have not done so in Denmark or Greenland either. Vincent also knows that I both speak and understand both Danish and Norwegian, and that it is

therefore not by necessity that I speak French to him. Vincent is not entitled to so-called “mother tongue instruction” in school, as this is reserved for pupils who have not yet acquired sufficient knowledge of Norwegian to participate in normal tuition.<sup>20</sup>

As I believe that motivation is crucial for Vincent’s maintenance and development of French skills, I opt for a high degree of “move on” strategy (explained previously in Chapter 2) in my conversations with Vincent. I also do not insist that he speak French to me, and only ever correct his mistakes by repeating what he was saying without the mistakes, or, if they are funny, by pointing out the humour of them. The latter is especially applicable when Vincent accidentally makes transfers with allophones and homophones. A good example would be the following:

*Example 5.2: French lexical transfer in Danish*

*Vincent is helping his mother to fasten a satellite dish on the wall*

”(DK) vi sætter parabolen på **(FR) muren**”

(Diary note 15 August 2003, at 5;8 years)

The sentence, which is in Danish, is meant as *we’re fastening the satellite dish on the wall*. With the transfer, however, it becomes *we’re putting the satellite dish on the ant* since Danish “myre”. $[\cup\mu\psi\cap\rho\leftrightarrow]$ , which means ant, is an allophone with French “mur”  $[\mu\psi\rho]$  which means wall. Definiteness in Danish is expressed by a suffix attached to the noun. This is consistent with the embedding of a French lexeme in an otherwise Danish sentence.

Movies, music, books and computer games in French are stocked up on during trips to France and Belgium or bought on the internet, and daily bedtime storyreading was introduced from a very early age. His mother reads him a story in French, his father, when at home, tells him one in Danish. To reinforce his motivation further, Vincent is often reminded of the perks of speaking French: it enables him to participate in the ski classes of the Ecole du Ski Français – so much better than those for foreigners - and only in French can he communicate with his mother’s family, where no one can understand Danish or Norwegian, and tell them what he wants for Christmas.

It was striking that during the skiing holiday in France where the French recording with his grandmother was made (the holiday took place in the company of Vincent, me, and Vincent’s maternal grandparents), he switched to speaking French to me as soon as we had boarded the airplane. This phenomenon, for reasons I can only speculate on, did however not

---

<sup>20</sup> according to a personal communication from the municipality where Vincent lives.

reproduce itself during another holiday, 4 months later, also in France, and with the same participants.

#### 5.5.4 *Danish*

As Vincent was born in Denmark, ability to speak Danish seemed a given from the start and no conscious discourse strategy was adopted to maintain this language. It was only as the family moved to Norway, when Vincent was 3;3, that maintenance of Danish became a topic at all, and the abilities of Danish acquaintances' children were encouraging. However, with the increasing influx of Norwegian elements in Vincent's speech, his father has started to worry that Vincent will lose his ability to speak "proper Danish". Vincent has also noticed that some Danish interlocutors do not understand him when he mixes Norwegian lexemes into his Danish, or uses *faux amis* in their Norwegian sense.

#### 5.5.5 *Norwegian*

Norwegian is presently the language of Vincent's environment. Soon after the family arrived in Norway, Vincent was sent to a Norwegian nursery school, where all the other children as well as all the staff were native Norwegians.<sup>21</sup>

No conscious efforts have been made to make Vincent acquire Norwegian at a faster rate than he has. His nursery school teacher initially thought that Vincent could not actually understand what was being said, and merely acted upon the context of the utterances. She felt he compensated for his limited command of Norwegian by displaying an especially determined attitude towards the other children. The nursery school had positive experience with letting foreign language newcomers quietly insert themselves at their own pace, and Vincent's parents supported this strategy, especially since Vincent seemed to thrive and socialised normally with the other children. Indeed, by the time the recordings were made, he had managed to insert himself in the group without any special initiative from teachers or other adults. Although he will be the youngest of his class, he will begin in Norwegian primary school alongside with Norwegian peers born in 1997.

---

<sup>21</sup> with the exception of one girl, who had a Danish father and Norwegian mother. She spoke Norwegian only, but understood Danish perfectly well.

### 5.5.6 *Greenlandic*

Vincent's contact with Greenlandic was occasional, brought about by his daycare situation which I related above. There was no conscious planning to either promote or prevent his acquisition of this language, and neither were any initiatives taken to prevent language death upon the family's arrival in Norway.

## 5.6 Linguistic development from age 3;3 to age 5;3

### 5.6.1 *Introduction*

To place the findings of Chapters 6 and 7 (which are based on data collected within a 10-day interval) in a more longitudinal context, I shall in the following give a short description of some central features which marked Vincent's linguistic development from the time he arrived in Norway, and until the time when the recordings for this study were made.

### 5.6.2 *From speaking Danish to speaking Norwegian*

Vincent's acquisition of Norwegian seems to have taken place in two stages. From his arrival in Norway and until he was approx. 4;3 years, he would steadily improve his passive knowledge of Norwegian but still mainly stick to speaking Danish. As a whole, it was my impression that Norwegian adults and children were not troubled by Vincent's use of Danish, did not seem to have great difficulties in communicating with him and even didn't comment on it much. The nursery school personnel however, would often remark that Vincent seemed to follow their directions by observing the context of them, rather than by understanding exactly what was being said. They also reported that they sometimes found it difficult to understand him. His insistence of translation into Danish occasionally lead to amusing situations, such as the following:

*Example 5.3: insistence on speaking Danish (1)*

*Vincent translates a Norwegian farewell greeting into Danish*

(N) ha' det på badet, din gamle sjokolade  
[ʊŋA]ŋδE π□ ʊβA]ŋδE δiv ʊγAμŋλ↔ ŋΣ□κ□ʊλA]δE]

*good-bye in the bathroom, you old chocolate*

*Vincent (several occasions from approx. 3;9 to approx. 4;6)*

**(DK)** farvel din gamle chokolade

[ $\phi\alpha\cup\varpi E\lambda$   $\delta iv$   $\cup\gamma A\mu\lambda\leftrightarrow$   $\cap\Sigma\kappa\kappa\cup\lambda\varepsilon$   $\uparrow\Delta\leftrightarrow$ ]

*farewell you old chocolate*

(Diary note, 11 December 2001, Vincent 4;0 years)

The crux of this typical Norwegian toddlers' farewell phrase is, of course, the rhyme. Vincent, however, missed this point completely by translating the phrase word-for-word into Danish.

A nice illustration of his transition from insistence on speaking Danish to Norwegians, towards speaking Norwegian to Norwegians, can be found in the recordings which I made of Vincent reading booklets about a frog (these booklets were discussed in Chapter 3). In the earliest recording, Vincent is reading a booklet with the mother of his Norwegian neighbour:

*Example 5.4: Insistence on speaking Danish (2)*

*Vincent and the mother of his Norwegian neighbour are reading a booklet*

	<b>Vincent</b>	<b>Neighbour</b>	<b>Translation</b>
1		(N) he:r er der en – er der en liten fugl som sitter der i glasset ?	<i>here there's a – is that a little bird sitting in the jar ?</i>
2	(DK) nej en frø.		<i>no a frog</i>
3		(N) oeha/ det'n frosk ja,	<i>uha, that's a frog yes</i>
4	(DK) ah det' FRØ		<i>ah that's a frog</i>
5		(N) er det det/ ja ?	<i>oh, is it ?</i>

(Recorded 8 January 2002, at age 4;1 years)

The noticeable feature here is that Vincent not only answers the Norwegian-speaking neighbour in Danish, but even corrects her utterances. From an interactional point of view, it is interesting to note that the neighbour does not insist on the correctness of her utterances, but instead (4) uses a “move on”-strategy (described in Chapter 2) in order to continue the conversation.

Two months later, Vincent is narrating the story in a related booklet about a frog with a teacher assistant in nursery school. The conversation starts as follows:

*Example 5.5: Transition to speaking Norwegian (1)*

*Vincent narrates a story about a frog to his nursery school assistant*

	Vincent	Adult	
1		kan du fortelle hva du ser ? hva er det du ser der ? <2> kan du prate inn der/ hva er det du ser på i boka ?	<i>can you tell what you see ? what do you see ? can you tell the story what is it you see in the book ?</i>
2 →	e:hh – e:nnn – fro:sk – og en – gu:tt		'eh' a frog and a boy

(Recorded 9 March 2002, at 4;3 years)

By now, Vincent has switched to using the Norwegian word “frosk” for frog. In the rest of the recording, he mixes Danish and Norwegian expressions and pronunciation, but speaks Norwegian mainly. It is clear that by now, he has become accustomed to speaking Norwegian also. The nursery school assistant does not comment on any of his mixing, and only interferes to encourage Vincent to keep on talking.

2½ months later, Vincent and his father are reading another booklet featuring a frog:

*Example 5.6: Transition to speaking Norwegian (2)*

*Vincent and his father are reading a booklet*

	Vincent	Father	
1	og så/ - snart – *hoppet frøen på maden ned		<i>and then – soon – the frog on the food jumped down</i>
2		hvad er det for nogen mad han hopper ned på ?	<i>what kind of food does he jump onto ?</i>
3 →	det' alt mad det hedder frosk		<i>it's all the food it's called frog</i>
4		en frosk, det' en frø. på norsk, da er det frosk.	<i>a frog, that's a "frø". in Norwegian, it's "frosk".</i>

(Recording made 26.03.2002, at 4;3 years)

Vincent is narrating the story to his father, consistently using the Danish word “frø” for frog, when suddenly in (3), he interrupts his own sentence to remark “det hedder frosk” – *it's called frog*. His father responds (4) by pointing out that the Danish word is “frø” and the Norwegian word “frosk”. During the rest of the narrative, Vincent continues to use the Danish

word “frø” for frog, without asking further questions. Both his pronunciation and vocabulary are only Danish. The father’s reaction to Vincent’s proposal of a Norwegian word is also consistent with his insistence on making Vincent speak only Danish with him.

After having continued to adhere to Danish even with Norwegian interlocutors, Vincent suddenly switched to speaking Norwegian around the age of 4;3 years. Nursery school personnel would now comment that he sounded more Norwegian every day. Although initially, his switch to Norwegian in nursery school did not seem to affect his use of Danish at home, he would gradually mix more and more Norwegian lexemes and morphology into his Danish. As could have been expected, *faux-amis* and allophones were the area where most of the transfers occurred. By the time the recordings were made at age 5;3, Vincent would mix more Norwegian morphemes, lexemes and pronunciation in his Danish than the other way round. Example 7 is a case in point. Vincent (5;3 years) has just been looked after by a Danish friend of his parents. The friend has a baby. She reports to Vincent’s parents that everything has gone well:

*Example 5.7: Transfer from Norwegian to Danish*

*Vincent and his babysitter report to his parents*

	<b>Vincent</b>	<b>babysitter</b>
1		(DK) der har ikke været nogen <u>brok</u> med dig, hvad ?
		<i>there hasn’t been any trouble with you, has there ?</i>
2	(DK) nej, det var babyen som (N <b>voc., pron.</b> )	
→	<u>bråkete.</u>	<i>no, the baby was the one making noise</i>

(Recording made 9 March 2003, at 5;3 years)

This conversation was conducted in Danish. The words in question are the Danish word “brok” – *trouble*, and the Norwegian allophone “bråkete” – *made noise*. Vincent uses the Norwegian word instead of the Danish one. Both words could have been appropriate when one only considers the context of the conversation, but given the fact that the conversation was in Danish, the insertion of a Norwegian lexical item is remarkable.

### 5.6.3 Use of French in Norway

Clark (1985:702-20) lists the following as typical errors in acquisition: overregularisation, gender, person and number, word order, complex sentences. She also

reminds us to consider errors of content, and errors of omission and commission. Most importantly, she points to the gap that exists between comprehension and production (i.e. production is acquired later than comprehension, and sometimes comprehension and production are acquired in different manners), a gap which is often overlooked in comprehension studies (Clark 1985:758). While it would be far beyond the scope of this study to give a detailed account of Vincent's acquisition of French, he would seem "on schedule" for as far as his comprehension and production of French is concerned. A direct comparison with the children in Clark's study would, however, be misleading, since as has been pointed out above, Vincent as a trilingual is not three monolingual children in one.

Cases of tri-directional language mixing (on both the lexical and morphosyntactic level) were most frequent in the first year after Vincent's arrival in Norway, and had mostly disappeared by the age of 5;0 (note, however, Example 5.2). The following examples were noted at age 3;8 and 3;11:

*Example 5.8: Danish-French-Norwegian mixing (1)*

Jeg tager min **culotte**EN MIN.

*I'm taking my briefs*

(normal print Danish, bold print French, capital letters Norwegian)

(Diary note 17 September 2001)

*Example 5.9: Danish-French-Norwegian mixing (2)*

*Vincent is talking to his father*

Se ! Jeg **grif**-er mors hoved med **moufle**-EN MIN !

*Look ! I'm scratching mom's head with my mitten !*

(normal print Danish, bold print French, capital letters Norwegian)

(Diary note 10 November 2001)

Vincent has always received positive reactions to his knowledge of French, and has never given the impression of being ashamed to use the language. Around the age of 4;4-5;0 though, he has on some occasions tried to tell me to speak *his* language (which could be either Danish or Norwegian). However, after an explanation that French was *my* language, he has let me speak French to him as before.



## 5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented Vincent, and accounted for his parents' not-so-strict-OPOL-language strategy and frequent initial contacts with French and Danish speakers. I have related his short, positive acquaintance with Greenlandic, and his arrival in Norway and subsequent contacts with Norwegians. Although these individuals did not oppose his speaking Danish, Vincent eventually started to speak Norwegian with them anyways. Vincent's acquisition of Norwegian has not been detrimental to his command of Danish, there were some lexical transfers from Norwegian to Danish by the time the recordings were made. I have finally related how French was involved in some of Vincent's language mixing upon arrival in Norway, and how he has had positive experiences with speaking French, which has encouraged him to continue to use the language even though he is not obliged to do so on a day-to-day basis.

# 6 Organisational aspects of repair

## 6.1 Introduction

### 6.1.1 *The choice of repair as a parameter of analysis*

After having acquainted ourselves with the theoretical and methodological framework of this study, as well as the child under investigation and his languages, we now turn to the analysis proper, in which we shall look at repair as a means of language socialisation. I chose repair as the central parameter of analysis in my thesis when I realised that repair played a central role in Vincent's conversations with his interlocutors, fulfilling not only the function of trouble-shooter, but also that of contextualisation cue. At the same time, it was also striking to see how differently the repair sequences unrolled in the three recordings, ranging from the classical adult-child pattern in the French recording, to the lively sequences of word-play in the Norwegian recording.

As we have already seen in Chapters 2 and 3, repair by monolingual children has been dealt with extensively using different theoretical approaches, such as SAT and psycholinguistics, but regrettably not CA (for an overview of these studies, see Comeau and Genesee 2001). The studies have operated within Piaget's cognitive constructivist framework (1926), which looks at the child's developing ability to anticipate his interlocutor's response, and his ability to use the interlocutor's feedback. They have concluded that the faculty to understand and use repair appropriately is acquired at a very young age. Garvey (1977), for instance, concludes that children can use the "rather complex" forms of repair by about 3 to 3½ years of age, and adds that "it is probable that this modular component is learned at a still earlier age and that its operation may be an important technique for subsequent language learning" (Garvey 1977:91). In their study on bilingual children's ability to identify language choice as a cause of communication breakdown and perform appropriate repair, Comeau and Genesee (2001:254) conclude that

young bilingual children possess the same ability to repair communication breakdowns as monolingual children as well as abilities that are specific to bilinguals [and that] young bilingual children can infer the precise cause of breakdowns in communication without receiving explicit feedback.

Based on own observations and aforementioned studies, I have therefore departed from the assumption that at age 5, Vincent and his peer interlocutors had at least a reasonably

well-developed ability to correctly identify and produce repair cues in Danish, Norwegian, and French. I have also departed from the assumption that there were no clues in Vincent's background that could indicate a particular attitude towards repair.

### 6.1.2 *A CA approach to repair in this study*

Repair sequences have been the main type of side sequence studied in CA, because they offer excellent opportunities to explore the organisational and interactional aspect of conversation, which are CA's object of interest. Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998:57-59) point out that the term repair can be used in two senses: in the first sense, the concern is with repair of the turn-taking system itself, and the focus lies on phenomena such as overlapping talk, which is a seeming violation of the "one speaker at the time" rule. In the second - broad - sense, repair is aimed at predicting or identifying trouble sources in conversation, as well as proposing and carrying out replacement of these trouble sources. The ultimate objective of repair in both senses is achievement of common understanding and avoidance of breakdown in conversation. One important point to make is that "repair" does not necessarily coincide with "correction". Schegloff *et al.* (1977:363) begin their seminal article on repair by stating that

[t]he term 'correction' is commonly understood to refer to the replacement of an 'error' or 'mistake' by what is 'correct'. The phenomena we are addressing, however, are neither contingent upon error, nor limited to replacement.

From this follows that repair initiation can succeed upon an error, but does not necessarily do so. Neither does repair necessarily involve the replacement of what is incorrect by something which is correct, which is why all utterances are in principle "repairable".

It is repair in the broad sense - prediction and identification of trouble sources in conversation, and proposal of execution of replacement for these - that has been mostly under investigation in CA. Repair in the second sense will also be our main object of analysis in this chapter.

The classical model for the organisation of repair sequences was presented by Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks in their 1977 seminal article on the preference for self-correction in the organisation of repair in conversation. Their primary objective was (p. 361)

to explicate the mechanism which produce a strong empirical skewing in which self-repair predominates over other-repair, and to show the operation of a preference for self-repair in the organization of repair.

Their article was in a sense a follow-up on a previous seminal work, namely their 1974 article on the simplest systematics for the organisation of turn-taking in conversation, where they had already stated that

[t]he compatibility of the model of turn-taking with the facts of repair is [...] of a dual character: the turn-taking system lends itself to, and incorporates devices for, repair of its troubles; and the turn-taking system is a basic organizational device for the repair of any other troubles in conversation. The turn-taking system and the organization of repair are thus “made for each other” in a double sense. (Sacks *et al.* (1974:724))

With Schegloff *et al.*'s 1977 model as a point of departure, our primary concern will be to detect how Vincent and his interlocutors use the mechanism of repair in order to organise their interaction and avoid breakdown. While most of this chapter will follow the CA mindset, it does contain a quantification of repair types, which is incongruent with CA analysts' reluctance towards the use of statistics, explicated by Schegloff's (1993:101) pointing out that “*one* is also a number, the single case is also a quantity, and *statistical* significance is but one form of significance”.

In the context of this study, however, quantifying the occurrence of different repair types will give us a better impression of the variation in use as it occurs in my recordings, keeping in mind the interest of this thesis in Vincent's trilingual competence as it becomes apparent in his understanding and use of repair. Ability to use various repair types is an indicator of the understanding of repair organisation, and it is thus an indicator of communicative competence. It can also be an indicator of the relation and balance of power between the interlocutors, when for example one interlocutor initiates a vast majority of other-repair. A large amount of self-initiated self-repair can on the other hand be an indication that the speaker is in the process of acquisition, as a large amount of self repair can be a result of a large amount of errors and hesitations which the speaker himself detects and repairs before the conversation continues.

Despite CA analysts' declared reluctance to quantification, other texts within the framework of CA theory also uses adverbials of frequency such as *massively*, *overwhelmingly*, *regularly*, *ordinarily*, and *commonly* (Schegloff 1993:99). In the seminal 1977 article on the preference for self-correction, Schegloff *et al.* also include frequency amongst their arguments (Schegloff *et al.* 1977:362), stating that

[o]ne sort of gross, prima-facie evidence bears both on the relevance of the distinction and on the preference relationship of its components. Even casual inspection of talk in interaction finds self-correction *vastly more common* than other-correction. In locating a *strong empirical skewing*, the relevance of the distinction is afforded some initial

rough support; the direction of the skewing – toward self-correction- affords one sort of evidence for the preference relationship of its components.

Other CA-inspired studies of bilingual children, like for example the studies by Guldal (1997) and Aarsæther (2004), which both focus on the contextual aspect of code-switching, also contain quantification of data. While Guldal does not provide any theoretical justification for her quantitative analysis, Aarsæther begins his chapter on quantification (Aarsæther 2004:99) by underscoring that the qualitative analysis deals with the essential questions in his study, while the quantitative analysis exposes background information. Hutchby and Wooffit (1998:115) also refer to both an earlier study by Schegloff (1968, quoted in Hutchby and Wooffit 1998:115), which is partly founded on a crude quantification, as out of 500 cases, only 499 were covered by the initial hypothesis – which led Schegloff to investigate the one case which was not covered, further. In another study which Hutchby and Wooffit (1998) refer to (Houtkoop-Steenstra 1991, quoted in Hutchby and Wooffit 1998:115), the counting of cases served to “strengthen [the] account of the robustness of the selected phenomenon”, and was thus included in the considerations even though it was not used as an analytical technique in itself.

In this study, I will use quantification as rudimentary, *prima facie* evidence of the frequency with which the different repair types occur in my study. Despite the afore discussed reluctance of CA towards quantification, I feel that here, a general quantification can serve as supporting evidence to the structural and interactional analysis on which the essence of this thesis is based. To analyse an instance of repair, one must have identified this instance of repair first. It is then also relevant to know whether this instance of repair was a one-off, or whether there is a recurring pattern of repair use. This does not mean that ones entire argumentation will rest on a taxonomy and quantification of repair occurrences found, as long as the focus of the analysis is kept on explaining the occurrence of repair in structural and interactional terms.

In the remainder of the study, I shall therefore - in accordance with CA practice - stick to unspecific references to frequency, such as “often”, “once”, “seldomly” and “massively” to not give the impression that the thesis is actually based on quantification. I will, however, in Section 6.6 include three tables with the number of instances of repair as they have been performed in my Danish, Norwegian and French recording.

## 6.2 Turn-taking in repair sequences

The ability to observe turn-taking rules in general is an important component of discourse competence and ultimately communicative competence. Sacks *et al.* state that “turn-taking seems a basic form of organization for conversation” (Sacks *et al.* 1974:700). They proceed to account for 14 characteristics - “rules” - of the organisation of turn-taking for conversation (pp. 700-1), and also account for the turn-constructual units used for the production of the talk that occupies a turn (pp. 720-1). In this context, they state (p. 722) that

[turns] regularly have a three-part structure: one which addresses the relation of a turn to a prior, one involved with what is occupying the turn, and one which addresses the relation of the turn to a succeeding one.

This consideration is fundamental for our understanding of what constitutes a turn in a repair sequence, and we shall return to it in our account of repair positions in section 6.5. Repair can be initiated and carried out jointly by the conversation’s interlocutors, or by one of the interlocutors only. In both cases, the repair will be what Jefferson (1972:294) defines as a *side sequence*:

In the course of some on-going activity (for example, a game, a discussion), there are occurrences one might feel are not “part” of that activity but which appear to be in some sense relevant. Such an occurrence constitutes a break in the activity specifically, a “break” in contrast to a “termination”; that is, the on-going activity will resume. This could be described as a “side sequence within an on-going sequence”.

The following example presents a case of repair by two interlocutors. To illustrate the concept of side sequence, the repair sequence within the head sequence has been underlined.

*Example 6.1: Repair by two interlocutors, side sequence within head sequence*

*Vincent is telling Marius that it takes two to lay his jigsaw puzzle with marine animals<sup>22</sup>*

	Vincent	Marius	translation
1	fordi man {s} dette er et VANskeligt puslespill/ og hvis du gjør dette puslespillet xxx xxx xxx *derfor er det ikke noe god idé at le- <6> (det er noe andet med xxx) <4> <u>det er noe</u>		<i>because this is a difficult puzzle. and if you lay this puzzle xxx xxx therefore it's not a good idea to 'le-' (there's something else with xxx) there's something with 'bura' those are my 'bura'</i>

<sup>22</sup> symbols in the transcriptions are explained in the “transcription conventions”-list at the start of the study.

med bura/ [μΘυβY]h{α]<2>  
det er mine bura/.

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| 2 → | <u>hah ?</u>   | <i>huh ?</i>   |
| 3   | <u>det er mine bura</u> , nana: nana:/ !<br>ah, denne er morS:om ! hai ! det<br>er en bak deg ! <2> ser du ? {jeg<br>havde rig-} jeg havde rett der var<br>en bak deg/ | <i>those are my 'bura', 'nana nana'</i><br><i>ah, this is fun ! 'hai' ! there's</i><br><i>someone behind you ! - you see ?</i><br><i>{I had rig-} I was right there was</i><br><i>one behind you</i> |
| 4   | hm/ - se, sån ! <5> og så sån !<br>nå kan jeg hjelpe deg !   | <i>hm – look, like that ... and then like</i><br><i>that ! now I can help you !</i>  |

(Norwegian recording, 42:30-43:00 min.)

The trouble source utterance in this repair is Vincent's statement (1) "det er noe med bura" – *there is something with 'bura'*<sup>23</sup>. Marius initiates the repair in (2) by asking "hah ?" – *huh ?* after which Vincent carries out the repair by responding (3) "det er mine bura" – *those are my 'bura'*. In the remainder of (3) and in (4), the conversation continues.

Far more frequent than other-repair, however, are the cases in which repair is carried out by the speaker within the same turn as the trouble source. In this instance, only one interlocutor is involved. Note Example 6.2 below, and further Section 6.4, where we will discuss Schegloff *et al.* (1977)'s argument for the preference for self-initiated self-repair.

*Example 6.2: Repair by one interlocutor*  
*Vincent is mixing his painting colours*

- |   | <b>Vincent</b>   | <b>translation</b>  |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | ça c'est le nav' <11> pourquoi ça c'est *la l'eau *tout<br>[τυυΣυρ] ? <sighs> /ah ben on - nettoie <4> avec<br>*la l'eau. <3> ah ! t'as vu *qu'est-ce que ça *vient<br>→ <u>avec *la l'eau ? – avec de l'eau</u> ? ça *vient ça ! avec<br>de l'eau ! | <i>that's the 'nav' ... why is that water all</i><br><i>dirty ? well then we clean ... with the</i><br><i>water ... ah ! did you see what it</i><br><i>(be)comes with the water ? – with water ?</i><br><i>it becomes that ! with water !</i> |

(French recording, 26:00 min.)

Here, Vincent repairs his own utterance while holding the floor: he uses the erroneous "la l'eau" – *water*, then self-repairs to "de l'eau" – *water* and repeats the correction. After each of his pauses, his grandmother could have stepped in to take the floor, but she does not do so, leaving Vincent the opportunity to repair himself.

<sup>23</sup> I have not been able to detect the meaning of the word "bura".

## 6.3 Repair types

Schegloff *et al.* (1977) make a distinction between self-initiation/other-initiation of repair and self-repair/other-repair of the trouble source utterance. This distinction is based on whether initiation and outcome occur in the speaker's or the listener's turn. All in all, the following repair types are distinguished:

*Table 6.1: Repair types*

self-initiated self-repair (SISR)	Repair initiated and carried out by the speaker of the trouble source utterance
self-initiated other-repair (SIOR)	Repair initiated by the speaker of the trouble source utterance, but carried out by the listener to the trouble source utterance
other-initiated self-repair (OISR)	Repair initiated by the listener to the trouble source utterance, but carried out by the speaker of the trouble source utterance
other-initiated other-repair (OIOR)	Repair initiated and carried out by the listener to the trouble source

Self- and other-initiated repair are, however, related, since they deal with the same sort of repairables (p. 372), and are organised by reference to each other (p. 370-372). Self- and other initiation of repair can be carried out with a variety of lexical and non-lexical techniques (p. 367), which we shall return to in Chapter 7. In the following, we will take a closer look at the sequential organisation of the different repair types.

### 6.3.1 *Self-initiated self-repair (SISR)*

In self-initiated self-repair, the speaker of the trouble source utterance both initiates and carries out the repair. Self-initiated repair can be initiated and carried out at the intra-sentential and inter-sentential level. As we will see in the quantitative analysis, Vincent carries out a considerable amount of both intra-sentential and inter-sentential self-repair in the Norwegian recording. Note example 6.3 below.



Example 6.3: *Self-initiated self-repair*  
*Vincent is showing Marius a puzzle*

Vincent	Marius	translation
<Vincent's father gives the boys a puzzle with marine animals to play with>		
1→ det er bare å {plu} pu:sle <6>		<i>it's just a ... it's just a puzzle ...</i>
→ <taps box on the floor> det er bare		<i>don't you understand anything it's</i>
et puslespill/ <4> <b>(DK voc.)</b>		<i>just a puzzle</i>
→ <b>forstår</b> du ingenting/ det er bare et		
puslespill/		
2	ja jeg vet/ da ja jeg ser det nå	<i>yes I know that yes I can see it now</i>

(Norwegian recording, 29:00-29:30 min.)

In this example, “{plu} pu:sle” in (1) is the intra-sentential repair done by re-formulation. As the intra-sentential repair is not successful, Vincent self-corrects his initial utterance “{plu} pu:sle” by twice carrying out an inter-sentential repair where he repeats the entire sentence: “det er bare et puslespill” – *it's just a puzzle*.

### 6.3.2 Self-initiated other-repair (SIOR)

In self-initiated other-repair, the speaker of the trouble source utterance implicitly or explicitly asks his interlocutor to assist him in the trouble shooting. Example 6.4 is a typical case:

Example 6.4: *Self-initiated other-repair*  
*Vincent is painting a mountain on a sheet of paper*

Vincent	Grandmother	translation
1 non *[il a] il a comme ça des <b>((DK</b>		<i>no there are there are like</i>
→ <b>pron., voc.) bue)</b> [∪βY↔] au dessus,		<i>that arches on top</i>
2	avec des pointes ?	<i>with peaks ?</i>
3 oui.		<i>yes</i>

(French recording, 6:30 min.)

Vincent does not know or remember the French word for peak, which is “sommet” or, when painting, “pointe” - *top*. To remedy to his lack of vocabulary, he first (1) announces a trouble source through his use of “comme ça” – *like that*, after which (1) he replaces the unknown word by a Danish equivalent, even though he knows his grandmother doesn't speak

Danish and he does not address her in Danish anywhere else in the text. Thus, a good case can be made for calling this translation with an announcement of a trouble source for a self-initiation of other-repair. Luckily, his grandmother does (2) suggest a repair – a word which fits into the context - and Vincent (3) gives a confirmation.

### 6.3.3 Other-initiated self-repair (OISR)

In other-initiated self-repair, the listener to the trouble source utterance initiates a repair, which is then carried out by the speaker. Example 6.5 is a typical example:

Example 6.5: Other-initiated self-repair

*Vincent and Marius are examining the pieces of a puzzle*

	Vincent	Marius	translation
1		SJØHEST er dette her ! <4> men – på: denne her så VIs er den hvilken som kan dreie rundt og rundt,	seahorse this is ! ... and on this one it shows which one can turn around and around,
2 →	hva for noe da ?		what then ?
3		*han viser hva som kan dreie rundt og rundt/ den kan dreie rundt og rundt/ <sup>24</sup> den kan dreie rundt og rundt, det kan den/ og det kan den også.	he shows what can turn around and around this one can turn around and around this one can turn around and around this one can and this one can too

(Norwegian recording, at 38:00 min.)

Marius tells Vincent about pieces of a puzzle that can turn around and around (1): “så viser den hvilken som kan dreie rundt og rundt” – *then it shows which one can turn around and around*. In (2), Vincent initiates a repair by asking “hva for noe da ?” – *what then ?* In (3), Marius carries out the repair initiated by Vincent, through clarification of his trouble source utterance: “han viser hva som kan dreie rundt og rundt (...)” – *he shows what can turn around and around (...)*”.

### 6.3.4 Other-initiated other-repair (OIOR)

In other-initiated other-repair, the listener to the trouble source utterance both initiates and carries out the repair. As Hutchby and Wooffit (1998:61) point out, OIOR is the type of repair closest to what is conventionally understood as “correction”. While OIOR can be carried out in simple two-turn sequences, the trouble source utterance (1) and its repair (2),

<sup>24</sup> enumerates the pieces of puzzle which can rotate.

example 6 presents a case in which the repair is initiated and carried out by the listener to the trouble source utterance, upon negotiation with the speaker.

*Example 6.6: Other-initiated other-repair*

*Vincent tells his grandmother that his Dad tickles him sometimes*

	Vincent	Grandmother	translation
1		c'est toi qui dis arrête ? et ta Maman qu'est-ce qu'elle dit ?	<i>do you say stop ? and your Mamma what does she say ?</i>
2	elle *fait pas de choses [Σ□]ζ].		<i>she does no things.</i>
3 →		elle dit pas de sot ?	<i>she says no fool ?</i>
4	non ! elle *dit pas de choses.		<i>no ! she says no things.</i>
5		ah ! elle ne dit rien Maman ?	<i>ah ! does Mamma not say anything ?</i>
6	non ! parce que mon Papa chatouille alors elle dit rien. hm !		<i>no ! because my Dad tickles then she says nothing</i>

(Recording of Vincent and his grandmother made 28.03.2003, 16:09 min.)

The trouble source turn is (2), where Vincent utters “elle fait pas de choses” – *she does no things*. His grandmother has misunderstood “choses” - *things*, and thinks Vincent said “sot” - *fool*. Furthermore, she has not picked up on Vincent saying “fait” instead of “dit”. She (3) suggests a repair to Vincent’s utterance: “elle dit pas de sot ?” – *she says no fool ?* . Vincent (4) rejects her suggestion, re-uttering his first message (with the exception of “fait” – *does* – which he changes into “dit” – *says*), after which his grandmother (5) suggests another repair. This time, her repair is introduced by the exclamation “ah !” – *oh !* In his subsequent turn (6) Vincent confirms the repair by his grandmother by simply continuing the (2) message that he was trying to get across in the first place. Within the same turn (6), he incorporates the repair made by his grandmother as vocabulary that now belongs to his own linguistic repertoire.

Now that the four different repair types which are distinguished by CA have been explained, we can turn to the main argument of Schegloff *et al.*’s (1977) article, namely the fact that self-repair (both in the sense of self-initiated and self-executed) is both typologically and statistically the preferred repair type.

## 6.4 The preference for self-repair

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Schegloff *et al.* (1977) argue for a preference for self-repair by pointing at organisational and typological evidence:

- (i) Self-repair is far more common than other-repair (p. 362). While this argument of frequency might at first sight seem contradictory to CA-reasoning, it is consistent with CA-practice of using unspecific adverbs of frequency, as we have discussed earlier in Section 6.1.2.
- (ii) Self- and other-initiations are carried out with different initiator techniques: while self-repair is initiated and carried out directly, other-repair is often mitigated (pp. 367-369). This point will be exposed further in Chapter 7.
- (iii) Self-repair is usually executed in fewer turns than is other-repair (p. 369).
- (iv) Most self-initiated repairs are initiated in the trouble source turn, since three out of four locations for repair fall in the turn of the speaker of the trouble source, giving him more opportunities to repair than the listener. Opportunities for self-initiation also precede opportunities for other-initiation, and the vast majority of self-initiated repair is accomplished successfully within the same turn or in the turn's transition space (pp. 369, 376), while other-initiation of repair, which is mainly carried out in the turn immediately subsequent to the trouble source turn (p. 367) usually takes more than one turn to be accomplished and is far more often unsuccessful.

We shall now look more closely at the sequential aspect of the argument, by considering the earlier occurrence and quicker accomplishment of self-initiated and self-corrected repair as opposed to other-initiated and other-corrected repair, and relating the conclusions to our data. We shall also look at the sequential aspect of repair failure, i.e. the greater occurrence of failure after other-initiation compared to self-initiation.

*Repair position* is a key word when considering the sequential aspect of repair failure. By "repair position", CA refers to the opportunity at which the trouble source is acknowledged and resolved. To explain this notion, we must return to Sacks *et al.* (1974). Here, Sacks *et al.* identify what they call "turn-constructional units [...] for the production of the talk that occupies a turn" (p. 720). Thus, according to their analysis, turns regularly have "a three-part structure: one which addresses the relation of a turn to a prior, one involved with what is occupying the turn, and one which addresses the relation of the turn to a succeeding one" (p. 722). The third part of a turn's structure they call the "transition space" between the same turn and a next turn (pp. 702-3). It is important to keep in mind here that turns in CA-theory are constituted not only by grammatical units, but also by prosody and pauses. Having

in this manner identified the modular components of a turn, Sacks *et al.* distinguish four positions for repair initiation: same turn, transition space, next turn, and third turn. Since the distinction between positions rests on the opportunity at which the repair is made, first position repair is repair initiated in the same turn as the trouble source; second position repair is repair initiated either in the transition space of the same turn or in the next turn, third position repair is initiated in the third turn to the trouble source turn and fourth position repair is initiated in the fourth turn to the trouble source turn. Table 6.2 summarises the distinction:

*Table 6.2: Repair positions (Hutchby and Wooffit 1998:64-6)*

first position	same turn as trouble source	self-initiated repair
second position	transition space between trouble source turn and subsequent turn OR in subsequent turn	self-initiated repair
third position	third turn to trouble source turn	other-initiated repair
fourth position	fourth turn to trouble source turn	other-initiated repair

#### *6.4.1 Positions of self-initiated repair*

The purpose of making a distinction between the four repair positions as I have done above is, that it is instrumental in explaining Schegloff *et al.*'s (1977:369-70) point that opportunities for self-initiation and self-reparation precede opportunities for other-initiation and other-reparation. We shall in the next sections discuss the different repair positions, and illustrate them with examples.

##### *First position*

First position repair is executed within the same turn and transition space as the trouble source. Note Example 6.7 below where there is no opportunity for Torben and Nicklas to initiate a repair before Vincent does it himself:

*Example 6.7: SISR in first position*

*Vincent tells Torben and Nicklas about how he celebrated Carnival in Norway*

<b>Vincent</b>	<b>Torben/Nicklas</b>	<b>translation</b>
1	<u>Nicklas: hvad fik man i No:rge, Vincent, når man blev</u>	<i>what was there in Norway Vincent for the cat king ?</i>

kattekonge ?

2	euhm man fik, man fik	'euhm' we got – we got a crown and
→	krone og så og så og så	then and then and then { *I hit } then I
→	{ *slået jeg } så var det jeg	was the one who *had hit off the cat
	som *havde slået ud katten	

3	<u>Nicklas: ok, ok</u>	ok, ok
---	------------------------	--------

(Danish recording, at 9:30 min.)

Here, the trouble source and repair are in (2), where Vincent first repeats part of his utterance – “man fik – man fik krone” – *we got – we got a crown*, and then tries to correct “\*slået jeg” – *I hit*, in the same turn (making a new error) with “så var det jeg som \*havde slået ud katten” – *then I was the one who \*had hit off the cat*. (The correct phrase would be “så var det mig/jeg som slå katten ned” – *then I was the one who hit off the cat*.)

*Second position*

Second position repair can occur in two locations. Firstly, it can be initiated in the next available transition space after the trouble source, as in Example 6.8 (which was presented earlier as Example 6.3):

*Example 6.8: Second position SISR in same turn, next transition space*

Vincent	Marius	translation
<Vincent's father gives the boys a puzzle with marine animals to play with>		
1		<i>it's just a ... it's just a puzzle</i>
→		<i>don't you understand anything</i>
		<i>it's just a puzzle</i>
2	ja jeg vet/ da ja jeg ser det nå.	<i>yes I know yes I see it now</i>

(Norwegian recording, 29-29:30 min.)

This example (first arrow) shows how Vincent keeps his turn by tapping the box during the pause following (1) “det er bare å {plu} pu:sle” – *it's just a*, after which he can repair to “det er bare et puslespill” – *it's just a puzzle* in the same turn's transition space.

### 6.4.2 Positions of other-initiated repair

Schegloff *et al.* (1977) note how generally other-initiation signals a lesser degree of interactional collaboration than does self-initiation, since in other-initiation the speaker of the trouble source utterance is not given the opportunity to repair his trouble source himself, and other-repair is not necessarily aimed at improving the understanding between the parties, but can also signal disagreement. The following two examples will illustrate this point. The second example especially is an excellent illustration of how other-initiated repair can take many more turns to be accomplished than self-initiated repair, due to persisting misunderstandings or the afore-mentioned lesser degree of interactional collaboration.

#### *Third position*

In Example 6.9 below, Vincent utters a request which is at first not understood by his interlocutor. He is also uttering the request while he and his interlocutor are already engaged in an activity. He is therefore left to struggle through a repair, only to see his request rejected.

*Example 6.9: Third position repair – proposal rejected*  
*Vincent and Torben are playing a dice game*

	<b>Vincent</b>	<b>Torben</b>	<b>translation</b>
1	skal vi: skal vi have nogen andre nu ?		<i>shall we shall we have some others now ?</i>
2 →		hvad ?	<i>what ?</i>
3 →	vil du have de røde og jeg skal tage de ehm - gule ? -		<i>do you want the red ones and I will take the 'ehm' yellow ?</i>
4		nej vi skal ikke spille det der	<i>no we won't play that</i>

(Danish recording, 27:00 min.)

After Torben in (2) has succinctly expressed his lack of understanding of the trouble source in (1) “skal vi – skal vi have nogen andre nu ?” – *shall we- shall we have some others now ?* Vincent rephrases his utterance in (3). His proposal is, however, ultimately rejected by Torben (4).

To further illustrate the argument that other-repair can signal a lesser degree of collaboration between interlocutors, Example 6.10 below (previously presented as Example 6.5) illustrates how other-initiated repair can occur in a successive string:

Example 6.10: String of other-initiated repair

Vincent and Marius are examining a piece of a jigsaw puzzle

	Vincent	Marius	translation
1		SJØHEST er dette her ! <4> men – på: denne her så VIs er den hvilken som kan dreie rundt og rundt,	seahorse this is ! ... and on this one it shows which one can turn around and around,
2 →	hva for noe da ?		what then ?
3		han - viser hva som kan dreie rundt og rundt/ den kan dreie rundt og rundt/ <sup>25</sup> den kan dreie rundt og rundt, det kan den/ og det kan den også.	he shows what can turn around and around this one can turn around and around it can turn around and around that one can and that one can too
4 →	ja nei den /viser ikke		yes no it doesn't show
5		joho !	yes it does !
6	nei/ !		no !
7		jo !	yes !
8	nei ! for da jeg var beibi så viste jeg med EN gang,		no ! because when I was a baby I knew straight away
9 →		uten å se på den ?	without looking at it ?
10	ja/ [φα]		yes
11		hvorfor det ?	why ?
12	fordi jeg viste ikke ( <b>DK pron.）</b> hvad de striper betydde/ og så viste jeg med én gang/ -		because I didn't know what those lines meant and then I knew straight away
13 →		gam ?	'gam' ?
14	jamen/ - GANGE. [φα ∪ μEv ∪ γA ]N ∪ O ]]		but, times
15 →		jeg synes du sa GRANG,	I thought you said 'grang'
16	nei !		no !
17		grang ! stang ! <8>. BrandStang ! Vincent/ hør her, sta:ng ! <3>	'grang' ! bar ! fire bar ! Vincent listen, bar !

(Norwegian recording, 37:30-39:00 min.)

In the above, the other-initiated repair is only concluded after 17 turns, and without the parties reaching an agreement on the initial and main trouble source “så viser den hvilken som

<sup>25</sup> enumerates the pieces of puzzle which can rotate.



kan dreie rundt og rundt” – *and then it shows which one can turn around and around*. In the process, the repair goes over into a string of three more other-initiations of repair. We can consider the passage as both interlocutors’ attempts to get their point across. In the end, Marius breaks off the negotiation by diverting into word play.

The repair sequence starts with Vincent’s initiation (2) “hva for noe da ?” – *what then ?* to Marius’s statement (1) “så viser den hvilken som kan dreie rundt og rundt” – *then it shows which one can turn around and around*. Marius accepts Vincent’s repair and in (3) carries out a third position repair to his trouble source. Vincent, however, does not agree, and (4) argues “ja nei den viser ikke” – *yes no it doesn’t show* – an initiation which Marius responds to with disagreement (5): “joho” – *yes it does*, upon which both Marius and Vincent dig in their heels in turns (5) to (7). Turns (5) to (7) are in actual fact not repair turns, as they do not aim at solving problems of understanding. Rather, they are the expression of disagreement. To win the argument, Vincent then introduces supplementary evidence (8): “for da jeg var beibi, så viste jeg med én gang” – *because when I was a baby, I knew straight away*. This supplementary evidence gives Marius the opportunity to initiate a repair himself (9) “uten at se på den ?” – *without looking at it ?*. This turn can be considered as turn 9 in the first repair, and turn 2 in the second, as it deals both with the initial argument, and with Vincent’s statement in turn (8). Subsequently, Marius answers each of Vincent’s repairs with the initiation of a new one. In all, he initiates four repairs in turns (9), (13), and (15), and each time, Vincent obliges by carrying out repairs in his subsequent turn. Thus, Marius successfully leads the attention away from the original deadlock-argument, and he concludes the sequence by introducing a new topic of discussion.

#### 5.7.1.1 Fourth position

Fourth position repair can be seen when the speaker of the trouble source utterance has to give supplementary clarification to get his point across, i.e. use two of his turns to initiate a successful repair. It requires more interactional collaboration, as the interlocutors have to make more than one attempt at the repair.

*Example 6.11: Fourth position repair*

*Vincent and his Grandmother are working with an activity book*

	Vincent	Grandmother	translation
1	Petite Mamy/ *peux toi faire un, e:hm: - *peux toi faire u:n - u:n - u:n - une:h - u:n *une		Grandmother can you make a 'ehm' can you make 'a a' 'a a a' a boat or 'ehm' – paper ? with

	bateau ou ehm - xxx papier ? avec *celui-là papier ?	<i>that paper ?</i>
2	un chapeau ?	<i>a hat ?</i>
3	<laughs: no:n !>	<i>no !</i>
4 →	un bateau ?	<i>a boat ?</i>
5	oui/	<i>yes</i>
(Recording 28.03.2003, 23:30 min.)		

In (1) Vincent first utters the trouble source: he requests his grandmother to make him a paper boat “une bateau ou ehm xxx papier avec celui-là papier” – *a boat or ehm paper with that paper*. His grandmother however obviously misunderstands his request (2), questioning whether he wants “un chapeau” - *a hat*. Vincent (3) rejects this. In the fourth position, Vincent’s grandmother (4) finally guesses what it is that Vincent wants, and Vincent (5) accepts her second attempt.

### 6.4.3 Repair failure

Failure can issue both from self-initiation and other-initiation (Schegloff *et al.* 1977:365), but is most common after other-initiation. The reason for this is that in self-initiation, the repair is initiated by the speaker of the trouble source himself, and there is no need for collaboration with the interlocutor for as far as initiation is concerned. In other-initiation, the speaker of the trouble- source utterance has to understand the nature of the problem caused by his utterance to the listener. On the outcome side too, self-repair is easier and more efficient to carry out than other-repair, since self-repair can be executed by the speaker of the trouble source utterance himself, and there is no need for self-repair to be mitigated in wording. Therefore, self-repair has greater chances of being successful. Some examples can serve as illustrations of the above-mentioned points.

*Example 6.12: Failure of self-initiated repair*

*Vincent is saying what he is going to paint*

	<b>Vincent</b>	<b>Grandmother</b>	<b>translation</b>
1	on peut aussi: <2> <u>delelilelileli/ //parce qu’il est</u> <u>trop petit//</u>	//allez//	Vincent: <i>we can also ... delelilelileli because it is too small</i> Grandmother: <i>come on</i>

(French recording, 29:00 min.)

In this rare example of failed self-initiated self-repair, Vincent holds a pause, which could indicate that he wants to initiate a self-repair. However, no self-repair is performed as he diverges into word play (the issue of word play, as well as the context of this example, will be addressed further in Chapter 7). As a comparison to Example 6.12, it is interesting to consider Example 6.13 below:

*Example 6.13: Failure of other-initiated repair*

*Marius asks for a drink, Vincent wants him to say “please”*

	Vincent	Marius	translation
1		kan jeg få vann ?	<i>can I have water ?</i>
2	vi /har og saft		<i>we have lemonade too</i>
3		ja ! kan jeg få saft ?	<i>yes ! can I have lemonade ?</i>
4	//du må si be/ om//	//er det (bra) ?//	Vincent: <i>you have to say please</i> Marius: <i>is that OK ?</i>
5	du må si be/ om		Vincent: <i>you have to say please</i>
6 →		be om ?	<i>please ?</i>
7	ja		<i>yes</i>
8 →		jamen (det der) ?	<i>yes but (that) ?</i>
9	<Vincent goes over to his father> <b>(DK pron., voc., gram.) Andy kan Marius be om {en s} et glas med saftvand ?</b>		<i>Andy can Marius have a glass of lemonade please ?</i>
10		<u>Andy: (DK pron.) naturligvis</u>	<i>but of course</i>
11	Marius ok ?		<i>Marius ok ?</i>

(Norwegian recording, 2:00 min.)

The trouble source here is (3) Marius’s request “ja ! kan jeg få saft ?” – *can I have lemonade ?* Vincent replies to this request by stating (4) that Marius should say “be om” – *please*<sup>26</sup>. However, Marius does not catch the drift of Vincent’s reply, and he therefore answers (6) by questioning Vincent’s initiation, i.e. he does not follow up on Vincent’s repair initiation to the initial trouble source. To Marius’s answer, Vincent (7) simply confirms that “ja” – *yes*, he indeed told Marius to say “be om” – *please*. When Marius (8) still fails to produce the phrase Vincent wants him to produce, Vincent does not attempt to carry out yet

<sup>26</sup> From “må jeg be om”/“kan jeg be om” – *may I please ask for/can I please ask for*, which is a very polite directive in Danish, but is no longer used in Norwegian. Vincent’s father has always insisted that Vincent ask for things using this directive.

another repair, but undertakes action to remediate to the misunderstanding, by (9) asking his father for the lemonade himself, remembering the words “be om” – *please*. Note that here both interlocutors did try to make the repair successful, even though they were speaking at cross-purposes, and repair attempts were only given up after four turns – thus, the repair did not fail for lack of motivation, and the failure of repair was remediated to by compensatory action, with Vincent even ascertaining in (11), that all was well now.

## **6.5 An exception to the preference for self-repair**

Schegloff *et al.* (1977:380-1) note - with the reservation of basing their observation on a limited amount of research material - that in adult-child conversation, other-correction appears “not as infrequent, and [...] one vehicle for socialization”. They continue by stating that should this be the case, then

other-correction is not so much an alternative to self-correction in conversation in general, but rather a device for dealing with those who are still learning or being taught to operate with a system which requires, for its routine operation, that they be adequate self-monitors and self-correctors as a condition of competence. It is, in that sense, only a transitional usage, whose supersession by self-correction is continuously awaited.

We shall see in the next sections whether the findings in this study can support this supposition, and elaborate on other-correction as a “vehicle for socialization” in adult-child interaction in Chapter 7.

## **6.6 Findings**

Having exposed the basic features of repair organisation with examples from our transcriptions, we now turn to looking at how often these features of repair organisation are represented in our data. I have argued in Section 6.1.2 why I have opted to include such a quantification, despite CA’s reluctance to using statistical evidence in the analysis of data. Both repair initiated by Vincent, and repair initiated by his main interlocutors (Torben, Marius, the grandmother) have been included in the tables, to gain a clearer picture of the distribution of repair between Vincent and each interlocutor.

### 6.6.1 Occurrence of repair

To to gain an easier overview of where the different repair types occurred in the transcriptions of my data, I have coded repairs in the transcription margins. In every case, the repair is attributed to the one initiating the repair, i.e. for example “OIOR(V)f” is a failed other-initiated other-repair, where the interlocutor produces the trouble source utterance, and Vincent initiates and carries out the repair. The page on “transcription conventions” at the beginning of this study also has an explanation of the abbreviations:

SISR	self-initiated self-repair
SIOR	self-initiated other-repair
OISR	other-initiated self-repair
OIOR	other-initiated other-repair
(V)	repair initiated by Vincent
(T)	repair initiated by Torben
(M)	repair initiated by Marius
(G)	repair initiated by Grandmother
f	failed repair outcome

*Table 6.3: Occurrence of repair - Danish recording*

Generally, Torben in the Danish recording is the one speaking most. He often initiates SISR by repeating an utterance, sometimes several times. Vincent speaks far less – although he responds when Torben’s father even comes in at some point to initiate conversation with him - and initiates far fewer repairs than Torben does.

	SISR	SIOR	OISR	OIOR
Vincent	2 (1 a*)	0	2 (2 f**)	2 (2 f)
Torben	29 (3 a)	0	2 (1 a*)	1
TOTAL	24	0	4	3

\* during interaction with adult

\*\* failed repair outcome

*Table 6.4: Occurrence of repair - Norwegian recording*

In the Norwegian recording, both boys speak a lot, and the interaction is lively.

	SISR	SIOR	OISR	OIOR
Vincent	25 (2 a*)	0	1 (1f**)	3 (1f)
Marius	8	0	17 (1f)	5

TOTAL	26	0	16	6
-------	----	---	----	---

\* during interaction with adult

\*\* failed repair outcome

*Table 6.5: Occurrence of repair - French recording*

In the French recording, the grandmother speaks much more than Vincent. She repeatedly urges him to talk and engage in conversations with her.

	SISR	SIOR	OISR	OIOR
Vincent	7 (2 f*)	1	0	1
Grandmother	22	0	7	0
TOTAL	28	1	4	1

\* failed repair outcome

Generally, we can see that self-initiated other-repair is seldom, occurring only once in the French recording. Of the remaining three repair types, Vincent seems to have a clear preference for self-initiation over other-initiation, as do Torben in the Danish recording and his grandmother in the French recording. Marius in the Norwegian recording, however, performs more other-initiation than self-initiation. In Sections 6.6.1.1, 6.6.1.2 and 6.6.1.3, I shall discuss the instances of repair for each of the above tables individually.

#### *Occurrence of repair in the Danish recording*

In comparison to the Norwegian recording, repair in the Danish recording is far less frequent, the repair sequences are shorter, and the rate of failure higher (see for example Example 6.9). Torben is the one speaking the most and also the one initiating most repair – especially self-initiated self-repair. Upon closer inspection, we can see that these instances of self-initiated self-repair are massively instances where Torben repeats utterances, sometimes several times. Vincent initiates little repair, and in all the instances where he has performed other-initiation of repair (both other-initiated self-repair and other-initiated other-repair) the repair results in failure.

#### *Occurrence of repair in the Norwegian recording*

The Norwegian recording has by far the greatest total occurrence of repair. The incidence of other-initiated self-repair initiated by Marius in particular far supersedes the incidence of other-initiated self-repair in the Danish and French recordings. Of these many

initiations, only one results in repair failure. Vincent initiates a large number of self-initiated self-repair. Upon finding these cases of self-initiated self-repair by Vincent in the transcriptions, we can see that contrary to most of the self-initiated self-repair performed by Torben in the Danish recording, Vincent performs self-repair both through repetition and reformulation. Generally, the Norwegian recording presents the greatest variety of manners in which repair is carried out (i.e. repetition, reformulation, subject change, yes/no answer, ...) compared to the Danish and French recording.

#### *Occurrence of repair in the French recording*

The French recording is the only one which contains an instance of successful self-initiated other-repair (Example 6.4), while supplementary French recordings also show instances of successful 4<sup>th</sup> position repair (Examples 6.6 and 6.11). Note, however, that Marius in the Norwegian recording initiates a far greater amount of other-correction than the grandmother in the French recording does, even though the French recording is an instance of adult-child interaction and French is Vincent's weakest language. At the same time, Vincent makes only half as many SISR in the French recording as he does in the Norwegian one. The French recording is the only one to present an instance of 4<sup>th</sup> position repair (Example 7.11).

#### *6.6.2 Use of self-repair*

The three recordings show a curious divergence of incidence in self-initiated self-repair. Torben (Danish), Vincent (Norwegian) and the grandmother (French) frequently perform self-initiated self-repair, while the interlocutors in those recordings (Vincent in the Danish and French recording, Marius in the Norwegian recording) only perform it rarely. It is difficult to see an immediate coherence between self-initiated self-repair and competence or greatest numbers of turns. While Vincent's massive performance of self-initiated self-repair in the Norwegian recording could indicate that he is in the process of acquiring Norwegian, he has a very low incidence of self-initiated self-repair in French, which is his weakest language. His grandmother, on the other hand, performs a great number of self-initiated self-repair even though she is an adult and hardly in the full process of acquiring French. I have no immediate explanation for Torben's massive use of self-initiated self-repair. It should be noted, however, that the vast majority of Torben's self-initiated self-repair are repetitions.

At any rate, the "strong empirical skewing" towards self-repair mentioned by Schegloff *et al.* (1977:362) seems to correspond to the incidences of self-initiated self-repair

in my recordings. It does not, however, correspond to the incidences of self-initiated other-repair, as there was only one single occurrence of self-initiated other-repair in all my recordings (Vincent in the French recording, Example 6.4). This is less than the incidence of other-initiated other-repair.

### 6.6.3 *Delayed initiation of repair*

Wong (2000) reports how the adult non-native speakers<sup>27</sup> in her study do not always initiate and carry out repair “as early as possible”, as Schegloff *et al.* (1977) find, but instead use an interjection in the next turn initial space, and only initiate repair upon a 2<sup>nd</sup> analysis of the trouble source utterance. In my recordings, I have not found any instances where Vincent (or his interlocutors) show this delayed initiation of repair. Whether this is due to the interlocutors’ age or other factors is uncertain.

## 6.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented repair as a side-sequence structure within the general sequential structure of turn-taking in conversation. I have presented Schegloff *et al.*’s (1977) argument for the preference of self-correction, and illustrated this argument with the help of examples from my data. I have argued why despite the fact that CA distances itself from quantification, I have opted to give a global quantification of repair types as they occur in my data, because identifying instances of repair gives us a general, *prima facie* impression of the occurrence of different repair types in the data. By presenting CA’s theory on the organisation of repair and relating these structural characteristics to my data, I have obtained a context-free analysis of the repair organisation as it is represented in my recordings. This analysis will form the basis of the contextualised analysis which I shall now present in Chapter 7.

---

<sup>27</sup> These speakers’ first language is Mandarin, the language used in the recordings is English.



# 7 Interactional aspects of repair

## 7.1 Introduction

Schegloff (1989) clearly formulates the importance of an organisation of repair for the interactional aspect of language when he points out that repair allows language to be constructed with ambiguities, and that there need not be one-to-one form-function or *signifiant-signifié* correspondences, because repair can deal with misunderstandings that might arise. He adds (p. 142-3) that

talk-in-interaction is interactive quite apart from (1) its contextuality, by reference to which it is virtually always responsive or proresponsive, and (2) its collaborativeness, in the sense that whatever gets done is a joint achievement.

Thus, Schegloff argues, it is the *situated* meaning of repair that reveals the interactional significance of the instances of repair. Ultimately, it is only through an analysis of situated meaning that we can gain more insight into the manner in which Vincent is linguistically socialised through repair, and it is only through an analysis of situated meaning that we can answer the question of whether there is a correlation between his linguistic competence and ability to pick up on socialisation cues. As we saw in Chapter 3, failure to consider the *situated* meaning of repair is one of CA's head arguments against various psycholinguistic and SAT-inspired approaches to the analysis of repair.

In keeping with my two-step approach to the analysis of repair, I shall now explore the context-sensitive potential of the analysis made in Chapter 6. This means that I shall be looking at the interactional aspects of repair in my recordings, by relating the occurrences of repair to the turns preceding and following them, and thus obtaining a situated meaning. For this, I shall use three key words, which I have already introduced shortly in Section 2.4.4: *contextualisation*, *interactional achievement*, and *sequentiality*.

## 7.2 Contextualisation

### 7.2.1 Contextualisation cues

Li Wei defines Gumperz' notion of contextualisation (Gumperz 1982; 1992, quoted in Li Wei 1998:163-4).as

the strategic activities of speakers in varying their communicative behaviour within a socially agreed matrix of conventions, which are used to alert participants in the course of the on-going interaction to the social and situational context of the conversation.

Gumperz himself (1982:131) writes about contextualisation cues that:

constellations of surface features of message form are the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and *how* each sentence relates to what precedes or follows. [...] for the most part they are habitually used and perceived but rarely consciously noted and almost never talked about directly. Therefore they must be studied in process and in context rather than in the abstract.

Thus, contextualisation cues are what “sets the tone” in conversation, and what signals how utterances should be interpreted. As an example of a contextualisation cue, we can consider the following:

*Example 7.1: Contextualisation cues (1)*

*Vincent and his grandmother are beginning their activity*

	Vincent	Grandmother	translation
1		eh ! non non non c'est moi. moi le chef.	'eh' ! no no no it's me. I'm the boss.
2	<pretends to whine loudly> oui:::n ! <3>		'ouin' !
	(French recording, 0:30 min.)		

In this interaction, the grandmother's contextualisation cue is that of authority, as expressed by her imperative interjection (1) “eh !”, the repeated “non non non”- *no no no* and the determined manner of speaking with falling intonation at the end of each sentence. Sentences which have thus been closed do not invite to discussion. Vincent, for his part, pretends to whine like a baby (2), which is a contextualisation cue signalling that he assumes the role of “baby”, but sets it within a “play frame”. After the completion of above sequence,

the grandmother, who is in the process of setting up Vincent's painting gear, does not elaborate on her being the boss, but moves on to commenting her activities. In other words, she does not challenge Vincent's contextualisation cue in (2), as she could have done by for example saying "allez, Vincent, fais pas le bébé" – *come on, Vincent, don't be such a baby*.

Relating the notion of contextualisation cues to our data in the three languages, we can make following comments.

### *Contextualisation cues in the Danish recording*

The Danish data are an example of peer interaction with many contextualisation cues through which Torben signals that he is "in charge", and Vincent signals that he will comply with playing a subordinate role. Thus, the recording presents an aspect of asymmetrical peer conversation. As contextualisation cues, there are the frequent instances of Torben's shouting, his frequent use of imperative form, and his reprimanding of Vincent introduced by "hej du !" – *hey you !* (at 31:00 min.) Torben also initiates more utterances and has longer utterances than Vincent, and Vincent has adopted many of Torben's exclamations and even some of his phrases by the end of the recording. Note following contextualisation cue:

*Example 7.2: Contextualisation cues (2)*

*Vincent and Torben are pretending to navigate a pirate ship*

	<b>Vincent</b>	<b>Torben</b>	<b>translation</b>
1 →		nu skal jeg styre ! giv styr !	<i>now I'll steer ! give the wheel !</i>
2	ja nu skal jeg hoppe i vandet,		<i>Yes now I'll jump in the water</i>
3		lad den krukke – nej ! så skal jeg jo også ! du styrer, jeg hopper i vandet. -	<i>let that pot - no ! I must also then - you steer I jump in the water</i>

(Danish recording, 15-15:30 min.)

Torben's second utterance in (1) is in the imperative mode, giving Vincent the direct order to cede the steering wheel: "giv styr !" – *give the wheel !* Moreover, Torben is shouting. Vincent in (2), finishes his sentence with an open end, as he only uses partially falling intonation. In (3), Torben is speaking in the imperative mode again, and he is also shouting.

As an indicator of Vincent's understanding of the context of the interaction, it is interesting to note that in (1), Torben orders Vincent to give him the steering wheel, whereas in (3), he tells Vincent to steer, so that he can jump in the water – an action which Vincent had just announced in (2) that he was about to undertake. This sequence is followed by more talk by Torben, and Vincent responding to Torben's interjection with "oh ja !" – *oh yes !*

### *Contextualisation cues in the French recording*

In the French data, the adult-peer asymmetry is apparent by the fact that the grandmother is the one in charge of the painting materials, which she instructs Vincent in how to use. She also asks Vincent many questions, and elaborates on his answers to them. Vincent does not begin discussions with her like he does with Marius, the peer in the Norwegian recording. Note Example 7.1, which presents contextualisation cues illustrating the grandmother signalling authority, and Vincent signalling that he assumes the "baby role" within a "play frame".

### *Contextualisation cues in the Norwegian recording*

The Norwegian data show a symmetrical interaction between peers, who often laugh together, and engage in lengthy discussions and verbal play. The contextualisation cues in following example further illustrate the case:

#### *Example 7.3: Contextualisation cues (3)*

*Vincent is demonstrating his jigsaw puzzle with marine animals and rotating parts to Marius*

	<b>Vincent</b>	<b>Marius</b>	<b>translation</b>
1	ser du/ at dom som /sitter fast, det er /puslespil. og du denne halen ? Det er OG puslespill. *Ser, hè ? xxx		<i>you see and those which are fastened, that's a puzzle. you, and this tail ? that's a puzzle too. see ?</i>
2		er det den ?	<i>is that it ?</i>
3	nei den er fisken/ <b>FR (voc., pron.) qui quik !</b> *en fugl(s) !		<i>no that's the fish chirp chirp ! a birdxxx !</i>
4		<laughs>	
5	en fisk som sier <b>FR (voc., pron.) qui quik !</b> – se nå, den xxx opp i LUFTA den.		<i>a fish that says chirp chirp ! - look, it's xxx in the air</i>

6

den snakker i vannet. – *it's talking in the water*

7

ja. blubblubblu

*yes' blubblubblu'*

(Norwegian recording, 29:30-30:00 min.)

In (1) Vincent emphasises the “du” – *you* by giving it rising intonation. He also finishes two of his sentences in an interrogative mode, which invites response from the interlocutor. In (2), Marius makes his suggestion in the interrogative mode, thus inviting a response from Vincent. In (3) Vincent responds to Marius’s proposal in (2), illustrating his statement with an onomatopoeia, which here is a contextualisation cue for playfulness. Marius responds (4) by laughing, and also responds to Vincent’s elaboration on the onomatopoeia in (5).

### 7.2.2 Contextualisation in repair

Relating the contextualisation notion to the occurrences of repair in my data, we can detect a clear coherence between the manner in which repair is carried out and the contextualisation cues which characterise the interaction. In this section, I shall elaborate on this coherence. In order to do so, it is necessary to introduce the concept of what Sacks (1992, quoted in Hutchby and Wooffit 1998:39-43) called “adjacency pairs”, i.e. pairs of utterances that belong together, in that given first pair parts require specific second pair parts such as questions and answers, or invitations and acceptances/declinations. These adjacency pairs should preferably be produced next to each other. In the words of Schegloff and Sacks (Schegloff and Sacks 1973:295, quoted in Hutchby and Wooffit 1998:40):

Given the recognisable production of a first pair part, on its first possible completion its speaker should stop and a next speaker should start and produce a second pair part from the pair type the first is recognisably a member of.

The key point in identifying adjacency pairs is to be aware of the difference between the serial nature of talk-in-interaction and its sequential properties, since the next turn in an adjacency pair sequence need not be the next turn in the conversation’s overall series of turns (Hutchby and Wooffit 1998:40). Example 7.4 can illustrate the concept of adjacency pairs:

Example 7.4: Adjacency pairs

Vincent's grandmother asks Vincent what he wants to paint so she can help him

	Vincent	grandmother	translation
1 quest. 1	hihi: ! COMME ça [σα]! //comme ç'//	//TRÈS bien Vincent !// - <u>maintenant tu fais des skieurs/ ?</u> – <u>ou des maisons ?</u>	Vincent: <i>hihi' ! there ! there</i> Grandmother: <i>very good Vincent</i> <i>- you'll do skiers now ? or</i> <i>houses ?</i>
2 quest. 1 answ. 1	// <u>des mai//sons.</u>	- //d'abord ?//	Vincent: <i>houses</i> Grandmother: <i>first ?</i>
3 quest. 2		eh ben, <u>elles sont comment les</u> <u>maisons ?</u>	<i>well, are they like the houses ?</i>
4 quest. 2	{//ils sav'//}	// <u>quelle couleur</u> ?//	Vincent: <i>they (know)</i> Grandmother: <i>what colour ?</i>
5 answ. 2	{ils sont} <u>*ils sont - comme</u> <u>tu veux !</u>		<i>they are – like you want !</i>
6		ah non/ - tiens, comme tu veux ? c'est bien la première fois que tu me dises ça ! allez, en avant ! viens faire une maison comme tu veux. <4>	<i>oh no - hey, like you want ? that</i> <i>would be the first time you're</i> <i>telling me that ! come, go ahead</i> <i>! come and make a house like</i> <i>you want</i>
7	moi veux *le faire - tout noir/ moi.		<i>I want to make it all black</i>
8 quest. 3		mais pourquoi veux-tu tout tout noir ? allez viens faire une maison, viens ! – <u>tu fais une maison tout</u> <u>seul ?</u> –	<i>but why do you want everything</i> <i>all black ? 'allez' come make a</i> <i>house, come ! are you making a</i> <i>house all by yourself ?</i>
9 answ. 3	<u>non un carré tout seul</u> [Σ↵λ]		<i>no a square all by myself</i>

(French recording, 10:30-11:30 min.)

The above string of question/answer adjacency pairs is part of an even longer sequence (Example 7.5 succeeds immediately upon the interaction in Example 7.4) where the grandmother asks Vincent what he wants to paint, and Vincent gives her answers. Note how in (2), the grandmother's addition to "d'abord" – *first* overlaps the beginning of Vincent's answer "des maisons" – *houses*. In (4), the same occurs when the grandmother's "quelle couleur ?" – *which colour ?* overlaps with Vincent's false start to the answer which he in (5) formulates as "\*ils sont comme tu veux !" – *they are like you want !*

## Contextualisation and self-repair

As we have seen in Chapter 6, Schegloff *et al.* (1977) successfully argue for the preference of self-repair in conversation, and for the preference for first position repair over second position repair. Relating this structural notion to the contextual aspect of our data, we see that Vincent's initiation and especially non-initiation of repair is consistent with what the contextualisation cues in the conversation would lead us to expect. Example 7.5 below:

*Example 7.5: Non-initiation of other-repair in adult-child conversation*  
*Vincent's grandmother is helping Vincent to paint*

	Vincent	Grandmother	translation
1		tu fais les murs, de la maison. – fais les murs. <4> oui/ et ça, qu'est-ce que c'est ?	are you making the walls of the house - make the walls. ... yes and that, what is that ?
2	une porte [ποτ] !		a door !
3 →		<u>une porte</u> ? {pre} mets de l'eau {sur ton sur ton} METS de l'eau, dans la cassero' VOilà <5> voilà.	a door ? put water {on your on your} put water, in the pan there ... there.
4	c'est comme //ça [κ□μ Σα]!//	//oui/ //	Vincent: that's how it is ! Grandmother: yes !

(French recording, 11:30 min.)

In (1), the grandmother already has a 4-second pause between “murs” and “oui”, which Vincent does not exploit to take the floor. He only takes the floor in (2) upon being asked a question directly. In (3), the grandmother starts by performing an other-initiated self-repair, which she herself interrupts by keeping the floor and carrying out two instances of self-initiated self-repair by reformulation, during which she keeps the floor. Only after the second “voilà” – *there*, which succeeds upon a long pause and is closed by a falling intonation, does Vincent take the floor again. The excerpt illustrates Vincent's reticence to take the floor even when he would have had ample opportunity to seize it and carry out other-repair, and the grandmother's reticence to give the floor to Vincent. This is consistent with the context of the adult-child conversation, which is asymmetrical as far as competence is concerned, and where the grandmother is the one in a position of authority.

To compare these findings to those of peer interaction with a high degree of interactional collaboration, we can turn to an example from the Norwegian recording:

*Example 7.6: Other-initiated self-repair in symmetrical interaction*  
*Vincent is sitting with a new jigsaw puzzle*

	<b>Vincent</b>	<b>Marius</b>	<b>translation</b>
1	Monsterbedriften {så kan jeg så må jeg} *så kan jeg ikke helt sjølv, så må du hjelpe meg.		<i>Monsters Inc. {that I can that I must} that I can't do all by myself, you must help me there.</i>
2 →		ha ?	<i>huh ?</i>
3 →	da er (to på) Monsterbedriften-puslespillet, <comes, rattling with puzzle>		<i>'da' (two on) the Monsters Inc. puzzle</i>
4		kan vi pusle dette aleine !	<i>can we lay this alone !</i>
5	ja men dette skal man ikke pusle aleine/. dette skal man pusle med a:ndre/		<i>yes but this is not for "puzzling" alone. this one must "puzzle" with others.</i>
	(Norwegian recording, 42:00 min.)		

In the above, Vincent completes an inter-sentential self-initiated self-repair (1). Only after he has completed his turn (falling intonation after “meg”), does Marius initiate an other-initiated self-repair by expressing a lack of understanding (2) “ha ?” – *huh ?* In (3) Vincent carries out the other-initiated self-repair by clarifying his first statement, upon which the boys continue their discussion (4-5). It is also notable that the repair initiated by Marius in (2) is an unspecific other-initiation, which gives Vincent ample opportunity to carry out the repair himself. Thus, both the instance in (1) and that in (2) are signs of interactional collaboration and understanding of the context of the conversation by both interlocutors.

### *Contextualisation and other-repair*

One of Schegloff *et al.*'s arguments for the preference for self-repair is that self-repair and other-repair are done with different initiator techniques. While self-repair is performed in a direct manner, other-repair is performed with so-called turn-constructional devices (also called turn-constructional units), which are, according to Hutchby and Wooffit's (1998:48) definition “anything out of which a legitimate turn has recognizably - for the participants - been built”. Furthermore, other-repair is often mitigated, such as to moderate the initiation



(Schegloff *et al.* 1977:367-9, 378). One example of a turn-constructural device used in other-initiation of repair is Example 6.7 “hva for noe da ?” – *what then ?*. Mitigation techniques can be the insertion of uncertainty markers (e.g. do you mean ... ?) or the formulation of the repair in a joking manner. By considering mitigated other-initiation’s potential as a contextualisation cue, it is interesting to see how other-initiations occur in our recordings, and we shall return to it in Section 7.5 (Findings).

Another manifestation of the preference for self-repair is, as we have also seen in Chapter 6, the fact that other-repair is more often unsuccessful. Related to our concern with contextual cues and their interdependence with repair, we can note the following example:

*Example 7.7: Contextualisation and failed other-repair*

*Vincent and Torben are playing a board game*

	<b>Vincent</b>	<b>Torben</b>	<b>translation</b>
1	//xxx//	//xxx// fordi - solen der, <3> og {nu må jeg kra’} nu må jeg {kravle frem} - kravle frem <3>	xxx because – the sun there ... and now you now you have to crawl out - crawl out
2 →	kravle frem ?		crawl out ?
3		hej ! hej !	hey ! hey !
4 →	hej ?		hey ?
5		nej ! uhm, hvad er det nu du hedder ? VINcent ! hej Vincent/	no ! ‘uhm’ what did you say your name was ? Vincent ! hej Vincent
6	hej ! he:j Torben		hey ! hey Torben

(Danish recording, 26:00 min.)

In (2) Vincent initiates a repair to Torben’s turn in (1), but his repair initiation is not followed up on by Torben in (3), who instead initiates a greeting. Vincent, who possibly misinterpreted this greeting as the response to his repair initiation, initiates a repair on this too (4). After Torben (5) has re-iterated the greeting (curiously preceded by “nej !” – *no !*), Vincent abandons his attempts at repair, aligns himself with Torben (6) and returns the greeting.

A comparison of this quickly abandoned repair initiation to the long successions of repairs and ensuing discussions of the Norwegian recordings (notably, Example 6.10), or the failed repair initiation which is ultimately compensated by action in the Norwegian recording (Example 6.13), strongly suggests that Vincent has an understanding of the context of interaction that he finds himself in, and does not insist further on having his repair initiations responded to when apparently, he is not going to be successful with it.

## 7.3 Interactional achievement

As we have seen in Chapter 2, discourse identities are not static, but constantly re-negotiated in the course of conversation. In the words of Auer (1990 and 1992, quoted in Li Wei 1998:163) “context is not something given *a priori* and influencing or determining linguistic details; rather it is shaped, maintained and changed by participants continually in the course of interaction”. By taking a closer look at interactional achievement - and, in the context of this study, particularly interactional achievement through repair - we can see how well Vincent picks up on contextualisation cues and adapts his own discourse strategies - notably regarding repair - to the discourse situation at hand.

### 7.3.1 Interactional achievement in peer conversation: Danish recording

Although the Danish recording is one of peer interaction, we have seen in Section 7.2 that the contextualisation cues in this recording clearly point towards Tobias being the dominant party. Note in addition the following examples, where Vincent “violates” the norm for preference for self-repair and is first “corrected”, and then interrupted as he tries to initiate another other-initiated other-repair.

*Example 7.8: Interactional achievement – Danish (1)*

*Torben is talking about a tool*

Vincent	Torben	translation
1	det er det ik' – det' <11> det' kun noget gammelt, det' kun noget gammelt værktøj, det' kun noget gammelt værktøj. det' kun noget gammelt værktøj. det' ik' noget for os. det' noget for {de}dem som er RIGTIG (13 x) store. <2>	<i>it's not that – it's ... it's only some old, it's only some old tools, it's only some old tools. it's only some old tools. it's nothing for us. it's something for those who are really (13 x) big.</i>
2 → børn <2>		<i>children</i>
3	og for de voksne <4>	<i>and for the adults</i>
4 → hvad er værktøj ? <4> det' også en slags dra-		<i>what is tools ? that's also a kind of 'dra'</i>
5	kom nu !	<i>come on now !</i>
6 ja ok ! [øføukε]j]		<i>yes ok !</i>

(Danish recording, 3:30-4:00 min.)

Torben has in (1) been talking about an old tool, and has finished his utterance (falling intonation, two second pause) by stating that the tool is for those who are really big. Vincent then initiates an other-repair in (2) by adding a specification: “børn” – *children*. However, Torben does not confirm Vincent’s other-repair (for example by saying “oh ja” – *oh yeah* or such). Instead, he adds another specification (3), which is a “polite” other-repair to Vincent’s other-repair. After a four seconds’ pause, Vincent initiates yet another other-initiated other-repair (4). It is not answered by Torben, who instead, after Vincent has continued to speak, interrupts him (note the latching): “kom nu” – *come now* !

In the above example, the lack of acceptance of Vincent’s other-repair in (2) would indicate that he was violating the discourse rules with his interlocutor, his understanding of which is further indicated by his acceptance of being interrupted immediately afterwards (6).

While the above interaction takes place after 3-4 min. of recorded conversation, an even more explicit example (although it does not involve repair) is the following, where Vincent “violates” the discourse rules again and is explicitly corrected:

*Example 7.9: Interactional achievement – Danish (2)*

*Vincent and Torben are playing on an imaginary pirate ship*

	<b>Vincent</b>	<b>Torben</b>	<b>translation</b>
1	nu skal jeg styre du skal skyde -		<i>now I'll steer you'll shoot</i>
2 →		det' mit sørøverskib ! jeg bestemmer *om det jeg bestemmer jeg vil styre OK, {jeg st} jeg går lige ned,	<i>it's my pirate ship I decide about it I decide I want to steer OK, I'll (steer) I'm just going down</i>
3	OK		<i>OK</i>
4		ah !	<i>'ah' !</i>
5	<laughs>		

(Danish recording, 11:30 min.)

In the heat of the action while playing pirates, Vincent in (1) commands “nu skal jeg styre du skal skyde” – *now I'll steer you'll shoot*. He is immediately rebutted in (2) where Torben tells him “det' mit sørøverskib ! jeg bestemmer om det. jeg bestemmer jeg vil styre.” – *it's my pirate ship ! I decide about it. I decide I want to steer.*” When Vincent accepts the correction by saying “OK” (3), the sequence where Vincent is corrected ends, and the boys

continue to play (note, however, that at 18:30 min. Torben suddenly tells Vincent “du skal styre skibet !” – *you have to steer the ship !*)

In the course of the conversation, the discourse roles (initiator and responder) are accentuated. By the end of the recording, Torben’s utterances are significantly longer than Vincent’s, and Vincent’s repair initiations are no longer reacted upon by Torben.

*Example 7.10: Interactional achievement – Danish recording (3)*

*Vincent and Torben are searching for dice*

	<b>Vincent</b>	<b>Torben</b>	<b>translation</b>
1		jeg kan ikke finde den den er *skydt i vejen nej ik’ sådan du ! nul, en <4> to <4> tre – fire – hvor’ FEMmeren ? <3>	<i>I can’t find it it’s (disappeared) no not like that you ! zero one two three four where’s the fiver ?</i>
2 →	femmeren ?		<i>the fiver ?</i>
3		og sekseren – hvor’ sekseren og femmeren <5> e – nul en to tre fi:re hé: der mangler en femmer jeg er fem år	<i>and the six where’s the sixer and the fiver e – zero one two three fore hey there’s a fiver missing I’m five years old</i>

(Danish recording, 32:30-33:00 min.)

Here Vincent initiates an other-initiated self-repair (2) by asking for an explanation of “femmeren” – *the fiver*. However, he does not receive any response from Torben (3), who continues his own monologue.

### 7.3.2 Interactional achievement in peer conversation: Norwegian recording

In comparison to the Danish interaction, the Norwegian interaction is much more symmetrical, with both boys participating equally much in the conversation, and constantly re-negotiating their discourse roles. Note the following example:

*Example 7.11: Interactional achievement through repair – Norwegian (1)*

*Vincent wants to teach Marius the English word for pirate ship*

	<b>Vincent</b>	<b>Marius</b>	<b>translation</b>
1		Vincent/ du må ikke tre i piratbåten	<i>Vincent you mustn’t step on the pirate ship</i>

2 →	piwa:t <3> piwat/båden, [π <sub>1</sub> ∪ωA ]τ∩β□δv] <sup>28</sup>	<i>pirate ... pirate ship</i>
3 →	pirat. pi:ra:t,	<i>pirate. pirate,</i>
4	piwat/båden, [π <sub>1</sub> ∪ωA ]τ∩β□δv] <3> på engelsk siger de {på pi} piRATbåten.[π <sub>1</sub> ∪{A ]τ∩β□δv] – piratbåden. [π <sub>1</sub> ∪{A ]τ∩β□δv]	<i>pirate ship ... in English they say pirate ship pirate ship</i>
5 →	rav ?	<i>'rav' ?</i>
6	nej/ pira:tbåwden [π <sub>1</sub> ∪{A ]τ∩β□Aδv]	<i>no pirate ship</i>
7 →	ohja: ! stankbåten.	<i>oh yes ! stink ship</i>
8	nej/ pira:tbåten. - [π <sub>1</sub> ∪{A ]τ∩β□δv]	<i>no pirate ship</i>
9	ohja nå veit jeg det, /stankbåten ?	<i>oh yes now I know, the stink ship ?</i>
10	//nei !//	<i>//&lt;laughs&gt;//</i> <i>no !</i>
11	<13>	
12	<starts singing: tralalalala:: >	
13	//se nå //	<i>//tralalalala:://</i> <i>Vincent: look now Marius: 'tralalalala'</i>
14	tralalalala, hai nu har vi bare fået (en) kro:k !	<i>'tralalalala', 'hai' now we only got (a) hook !</i>

(Norwegian recording, 39:00-40:00 min.)

The subject of the pirate ship, which has already been up three minutes earlier, is re-introduced by Marius in (1). In (2), Vincent utters what he believes is the English word for pirate ship: “piwatbåden”. Marius corrects this utterance in (3), proposing the correct Norwegian pronunciation. In (4) Vincent re-utters his “English” translation of “piratbåden”, explaining that this in his opinion is English. Marius now starts mocking Vincent’s efforts (5,7,9) and after a break, both boys start singing and Vincent changes the subject. The interlocutors here have held a long negotiation about Vincent’s initiation of an other-initiated self-repair, which has ultimately proven unsuccessful, but which is succeeded by joyous verbal play.

Here, both boys’ utterances confirm previous contextual cues, and the contextualisation of the interaction therefore does not change as a consequence of it. On the whole, one can

<sup>28</sup> See Section 3.2.4.3 about my reasons for not marking tonemic stress in my transcriptions of Norwegian speech.

suppose that the discourse roles were pre-established from the start, since Vincent and Marius see each other frequently.

### 7.3.3 Interactional achievement in adult-child conversation: French recording

As we have seen in Chapter 2, adults in adult-child conversation can adopt different conscious or unconscious discourse strategies, ranging from the Minimal Grasp Strategy (not understanding or pretending not to understand an utterance) to a Move-On Strategy in monolingual conversations and code-switching in bi-, tri-, or multilingual conversations. These strategies can also be examined by looking at how the adult repairs the child's utterances. Note the following example, and the grandmother's reaction to Vincent's self-initiated self-repair.

*Example 7.12: Interactional achievement in adult-child conversation – French recording (1)*

*Vincent is adding something to his painting*

	Vincent	Grandmother	translation
1		ça va. et puis, que mets-tu encore {dans} dans ton tableau ? – il n'est pas fini/ hein ! peux mettre encore d'autres choses !	<i>that's ok. and then, what else are you putting in your painting ? it's not finished, is it ? you can still put other things !</i>
2	on peut aussi: - delelilelileli //parce qu'il est trop petit//	//allez//	Vincent: <i>we can also – 'delelilelileli', because it's too small</i> Grandmother: <i>come on</i>
3 →		que mets-tu encore dans le tableau, Vincent ?	<i>what else are you putting in the painting, Vincent ?</i>
4	delelileli: parce qu'il est trop petit/ - <laughs> ! <sings> lilililili parce qu'il est trop petit ? <laughs>		<i>delelileli 'because it's too small ! 'lilililili' because it's too small ?</i>
5 →		<4> allez.	<i>... come</i>
6	mais *moi trouve *ça c'est beau ! <13> qu'est-ce que c'est ça/ ?		<i>but I think that's beautiful ! what's that ?</i>

(French recording, 29:00-29:30 min.)

The grandmother has asked Vincent what else he is going to add to his painting. In (2), he starts explaining it to her, but suddenly performs a self-initiated self-repair by changing the subject and reverting to verbal play. In (3), his grandmother re-iterates her request from (1),

but to no avail, as Vincent continues his verbal play in (4). In (5), she explicitly does not enter into his verbal play, but instead urges him to continue painting: “allez” – *come*. In (6) Vincent ends his verbal play and continues to comment on the painting.

In another example, we can see two typical cases of adult-child scaffolding. *Scaffolding* (a term introduced by Bruner (1978)) has the aspect of a “fake repair” (i.e. it has the form but not the function of repair) and belongs to the category of adjacency pairs which I introduced in Section 7.2.2. The idea of scaffolding is to wilfully stimulate children’s development by providing intellectual interaction. The grandmother first makes Vincent display his knowledge of a word, and then asks him a rhetorical question:

*Example 7.13: Interactional achievement in adult-child conversation – French (2)*

*Vincent and his grandmother are painting windows in a house*

	Vincent	Grandmother	translation
1		et tu fais de:s des comment	<i>and are you making any - any how</i>
→		on peut voir dans cette	<i>to look inside this house ? you need</i>
		maison ? il faut des/ ? fe ?	<i>? win ?</i>
2 →	nêtres.		<i>dows.</i>
3		des fenêtres.	<i>you need windows.</i>
4	ça c'est pour ouvrir la porte.		<i>that's to open the door.</i>
5 →		c'est seulement pour ouvrir la porte ?	<i>is it only to open the door ?</i>
6	oui.		<i>yes.</i>
7		ben d'accord/ - ça va/ -	<i>well OK – that's ok</i>
8	et ça c' – *moi *va faire *l'autre/ chose <15> /comme ça *de fenêtres. <6> hi ! <27>		<i>and that's - I will do something else ... like that, windows ... 'hi' !</i>

(French recording, 14:30-15:30 min.)

In (1) of above example, the grandmother solicits the completion of a word from Vincent, by using interrogatives and rising intonation after “des”. Vincent picks up on the cue and (2) completes the word started by his grandmother. Another case of scaffolding occurs shortly afterwards (5) as the grandmother asks Vincent for confirmation of his statement in (4). In both cases, the question/answer pairs are adjacency pairs (a concept introduced in 7.2.2)

Scollon (1979) has identified constructions similar to the one in Example 7.13’s (1) and (2) in the speech of very young (1½ - 2 year old) children, and termed these *vertical*

constructions.<sup>29</sup> The functional difference with scaffolding is, however, essential, as the adult who initiates scaffolding wilfully does not finish a word or sentence out of an educational hindsight, whereas the young children in Scollon's case simply have not yet come further than the one/two word stage. The French recording does, however, present one instance which could be interpreted as a vertical construction through other-initiated self-repair:

*Example 7.14: Interactional achievement in adult-child conversation – French (3)*

*Vincent is describing a lorry to his grandmother*

	<b>Vincent</b>	<b>Grandmother</b>	<b>translation</b>
1	et voi:ci ! [σɪ] ça marche. ça c'est comme *une camion de –		<i>and here ! xxx it works. that's like a lorry of –</i>
2 →		c'est quel camion ? <3>	<i>which lorry is it ?</i>
3	il est comme-ça !		<i>it's like that !</i>
4 →		ramasse les poubelles ?	<i>collects the garbage ?</i>
5	il *[∩{αμ α ∪ σ ε}] les poubelles il va, dans la maison/ ? <grunts> <12>		<i>he collect(ed) the garbage it goes, into the house ?</i>

(French recording, 16:30-17:00 min.)

In (1) Vincent starts to specify a type of lorry, but does not finish his utterance. In (2) his grandmother performs an other-initiation, by asking about the specification “c'est quel camion ?” - *which lorry is it ?* In (3) Vincent still does not mention the word for garbage truck, but maybe gesticulates or points at something. In (4) the grandmother proposes an interpretation: “ramasse les poubelles ?” - “*collects the garbage ?*” which Vincent adopts in (5). Vincent and his grandmother have thus co-constructed the concept of a garbage-truck through the grandmother's fourth-position other-initiated other-repair.

---

<sup>29</sup> In the vertical constructions described by Scollon (1979), the very young child makes single-word utterances, which the adult then interprets one by one. After several words, the child has “constructed” a meaningful string with the help of the adult.



### 7.3.4 Exposed and embedded correction in conversation

The notion of exposed and embedded correction has been described by Jefferson (1987), and refers to the fact that repair can be carried out both explicitly and in a more by-the-way manner, “without emerging to the conversational surface” (Jefferson 1987:86). In exposed correction, the listener to the trouble-source utterance explicitly corrects the trouble-source, as in for example Example 7.11, turn 3 “pirat, pi:rat” – *pirate, pi:rate*”, or any of the other-initiated self-repairs initiated by turn-constructive devices such as “hvad ?- “*what ?*” or “ha ?” – *huh ?*. As such, corrections can (but need not) be used to specifically point out lapses in competence and/or conduct, an activity for which Jefferson proposes the name *accountings* (Jefferson 1987:88). In our data, an example of accounting is Example 7.17, turn 4. In a previous turn, Marius has mentioned a “sjøhest” - *seahorse* , after which Vincent has asked him – using the Danish words for horse and sea - whether that is “(DK) heste som er nede i (DK) søen ?” – *horses that are down in the sea ?* upon which Marius explicitly (though without explaining the difference between a seahorse and a horse in the sea, or commenting on the fact that Vincent was using Danish) points out to Vincent that the animal he is talking about is a seahorse: “SJØHEST er dette her !” – *a SEAHORSE this is !*”.

In embedded correction, on the other hand, corrections to the trouble-source utterance avoid this element of accounting, as they are made without interrupting the flow of the conversation. Embedded corrections can even sometimes be hard to identify as repair, such as in the following example:

Example 7.15: Embedded correction (1)

*Vincent is painting snow*

	Vincent	Grandmother	translation
1		elle tombe par/tout cette neige !	<i>that snow falls everywhere !</i>
2	eheuh ! *il va *dans Hollande *celui-ci neige.		<i>'eheuh' ! this snow goes to Holland !</i>
3 →		elle va en Hollande la neige ?	<i>does the snow go to Holland ?</i>
4	oui /		<i>yes</i>

(French recording, 19:00 min.)

In (2), Vincent has made a gender error and a preposition error when talking about snow going to Holland: “il va dans Hollande celui-ci neige ?” instead of “elle va en Hollande cette neige-ci ?” In (3), the grandmother repeats the erroneous utterance with corrections and

as an interrogative. This could be interpreted as an embedded other-initiation of repair. Vincent does not, in this case, seem to pick up on the correction in the course of this conversation. At 19:30 min., which is the last time he uses the word snow, he is still using the masculine gender.

In the context of interactional achievement through repair, the difference between exposed and embedded correction is significant, as it points towards repair's potential of being a contextualisation cue. My immediate expectation was that embedded other-correction would be most frequent in the adult-child interaction, with embedded correction being an adult's manner of correcting a child without discouraging him from speaking. It turned out, however, that I could not with absolute certainty identify as embedded correction any of those instances where the grandmother repeated Vincent's erroneous utterances. Moreover, there are even instances in the French recording where the grandmother hesitates and Vincent in his turn uses the correct utterance.

In the Norwegian and Danish recordings, there are several instances where transfers from the other Scandinavian language appear in Vincent's turns. In the Norwegian recording, Marius does not once comment on these (see Section 7.5.3) but does at one point make what could be interpreted as an embedded correction:

*Example 7.16: Embedded correction ? (2)*

*Vincent is throwing a ball for his cat to catch*

	Vincent	Marius	translation
1	<shakes and throws cat toy> se(r) ! den katten Elsker en s��n ( <b>DK voc.</b> ) <b>bold</b> ! [����] –		<i>look ! that cat loves a ball like that !</i>
2 →		Elsker den ballen [������������]?	<i>does it love the ball ?</i>
3	ja !  (Norwegian recording, 44:00-44:30 min.)		<i>yes !</i>

In (1) Vincent uses the Danish word for *ball*, “bold”. In (2) Marius repeats the word in Norwegian, in an interrogative sentence where he asks for confirmation of (1). In (3) Vincent confirms Marius's question in (2).

There is no clue to directly confirm or disavow that Marius has made an embedded correction here – although the fact that he has not corrected or commented on any of the other Danish transfers or code-switches would indicate that he hasn't. At any rate, Vincent still uses the Danish word for ball one minute later.

The Danish recording does not present any instances that could point towards embedded correction.

## 7.4 Sequentiality

We have before discussed how CA theory (with, as seminal reference, Sacks *et al.* 1974) frequently underscores the importance of considering the sequential context of conversational features. Sequentiality refers to the manner in which contextual cues unfold their meaning in the course of interaction, where these contextualisation cues are constantly re-negotiated, and a sequential, dynamic, context-sensitive meaning is achieved. The fact that repair both can take the role of contextualisation cue and be dependent on other contextualisation cues (as we have seen above) makes it even more interesting to consider the development of repair initiation and outcome in the course of a conversational interaction.

One way of detecting patterns of sequentiality is to consider the relevance of repair. In Schegloff's wording (Schegloff 1993:110):

[R]elevance is at least as important as incidence in establishing an oriented-to order. Past experience has been that some of the best evidence *for* some phenomenon or practice can often be derived from negative cases, which may display an orientation by the participants to the very practices from which they depart.

In the following, we shall therefore take a closer look at sequentiality by considering some of the cases of *non-repair*, and one case where it is questionable whether there was repair of code-switching, in this study. Firstly, there are all the instances in the Danish and especially Norwegian recordings in which Vincent inserts words from the non-conversational language in the conversations. Yet, this does not seem to be remarked upon or repaired by his interlocutors – neither children nor the occasional adults, except for in Example 7.17 below, where it is hard to determine whether Marius only repairs the content of Vincent's utterance, or whether his repair also concerns Vincent's use of Danish.

Example 7.17: Sequentiality – ignoring code-switching ?

Vincent and Marius are playing with a jigsaw puzzle featuring marine animals

	Vincent	Marius	translation
1		<laughs> er der sjøhest i piratbåten ? hehe ! <3> gøy/ sjøhest i piratbåten/ !	<i>is there a seahorse in the pirate ship ? 'hehe' funny a seahorse in the pirate vessel !</i>
2	//<laughs: z z z: !>//	//<laughs: hehehe !>//	
3	{er det/} er det <b>(DK pron.) heste</b> som er nede i <b>(DK pron.) søen</b> ?		<i>{is that} is that horses that are down in the sea ?</i>
4 →		SJØHEST er dette her ! <4> men - på denne her - så Viser den hvilken som kan dreie rundt og rundt,	<i>seahorse this is ! ... and on this one it shows which one can turn around and around</i>
5	hva for noe da ?  (Norwegian recording, 37:30 min.)		<i>what then ?</i>

Marius's trouble source utterance is the word "sjøhest" – *seahorse* in (1). After the boys have both laughed (2), Vincent uses Danish pronunciation in (3) when asking about seahorses "er det heste som er nede i søen ?" – *is that horses that are down in the sea ?* To this, Marius repairs by repeating (4) the trouble source item from his trouble source utterance "sjøhest er dette her" – *seahorse this is !* He does not comment the fact that Vincent has been using Danish, and Vincent does not initiate a second repair or compensatory action to gain more insight into the concept of seahorses. In this instance, the boys seem more interested in moving on with their conversation than dwelling on the trouble source, and the code-switch – whether repaired or not - has not caused an interruption of the conversation.

Marius does, however, otherwise not comment on any of Vincent's transfers from Danish, not even when they comprise a whole sentence such as at 37:00 min., where Vincent utters "**(DK pron.) se nu tar den træet. vi \*vedder ikke hva de har {af fest}, hva kronen sitter fast i** – nah ! nah ! uh, nej nå får vi træer !" - *look it takes the tree now we don't know (what (fest) they have) what the crown is attached onto - 'nah ! nah !' uh no now we are getting trees*. The assumption that Marius did not correct Vincent's transfers in Example 7.17 either, would therefore seem the most plausible.

A definite case of non-repair is the following instance in which a misunderstanding between Vincent and Torben remains unrepaired.

*Example 7.18: Sequentiality - ignoring a speech error*

*Torben is explaining the setup and rules of a dice game to Vincent*

	<b>Vincent</b>	<b>Torben</b>	<b>translation</b>
1	//edderkop !//	//jeg tager// edderkoppen, nej den starter ikke der, jeg skal lave den, den skal være blå eller rød eller gul <3>	Vincent: <i>spider !</i> Torben: <i>I'll take the spider, no it doesn't start there, I'll do it, it has to be blue or red or yellow</i>
2	det' edderkop !		<i>that's a spider !</i>
3		jeg skal være, um jeg skal være jeg skal være blå, der skal være alle blåene/ der skal være alle blå, man skal have alle blåene/	<i>I'll be, ehm I'll be I'll be blue, all the blues must go there there all the blue must be, you must have all the blues</i>
4	og jeg skal være/ rød.		<i>and I shall be red</i>
5 →		ja du skal {ru} alle runde jeg jeg tager alle *blåene	<i>yes you ( get) all the round ones I'll take all the blues</i>
6	(nåh jeg xxx alene)		<i>(well I xxx alone)</i>
7		hmhm: jam' der er flere ...	<i>'hmhm' xxx there are more ...</i>

(Danish recording, 19:30-20:00 min.)

In (1), Torben says about pawns in a game that “den skal være blå eller rød eller gul” – *it has to be blue or red or yellow*. In (4) Vincent says that “og jeg skal være rød” – *and I shall be red*, to which Torben erroneously replies in (5) “ja du skal alle runde” – *yes you (get) all the round ones*” after which he decides that he will take all the blue ones, without any objections from Vincent.

This last instance of non-repair can be attributed to different causes. It may be that Vincent didn't hear Torben's mistake in (5). There is, however, also a possibility that the non-repair can be part of his wanting to maintain Torben's face. The notion of “face”, defined as “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact” (Goffmann 1967:5, quoted in Svennevig 1999:23) is an important part of the interactional aspect of conversation. “Giving face” means, that one wants to maintain the image ones interlocutor has established of himself. Since Torben has established himself as being the initiator in the conversation, and Vincent has, in the course of the conversation, increasingly played the role of answerer, Vincent's non-repair would be a sign of discourse competence.

Examples of “giving face” in the French recording would be Example 7.4, Example 7.5, and Example 7.13, where Vincent answers all questions in adjacency pairs, but does not himself initiate any question-parts of adjacency pairs. This is consistent with his position as the child in an asymmetrical adult-child conversation.

In the Norwegian recordings, the “giving face” is far less obvious, since the interaction is symmetrical, and the establishment and maintenance of discourse roles is far less obvious.

## 7.5 Findings

### 7.5.1 General notes

#### *Norwegian recording*

Related to the picture one gets when hearing the Norwegian conversation between Vincent and Marius, which is one of animated discussion between true peers who are very familiar with each other, the frequent repair, and repair taking place over many turns is a sign of intense interaction. The fact that Vincent is still fully in the process of acquisition of Norwegian, as evidenced by his frequent switches to Danish and Danish lexical insertions, does not seem to be an obstruction to communication between the boys. This is interesting, considering the Scandinavian semi-communication by adults discussed in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3.3), and my report in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.3) of Vincent’s nursery school teacher reporting that Vincent sometimes had difficulty understanding nursery school staff. It is also worth noting that Vincent does not initiate any other-initiated self-repair. Of the many instances of repair which Marius initiates, there is only one instance where it fails (Example 6.5), and then only after lengthy interaction and not due to deficient linguistic or discourse competence. An example of failed repair initiation by Vincent is Example 6.13, where Vincent compensates for the repair failure (which is due to his using a Danish polite directive not used in Norwegian) by undertaking compensatory action. Clearly, Vincent and Marius’s discourse competence here seem to be compensating for Vincent’s lacks in linguistic competence in Norwegian.

#### *Danish recording*

The picture of an asymmetrical interaction is confirmed through the analysis of repair. Since Danish is the language that Vincent is most competent in, his relative difficulties to tune in to the context of the interaction, and his role as “underdog” in the conversation, seems unrelated to his linguistic competence. Several explanation of Vincent’s defensive attitude can

be proposed. There is the fact that the recording was made in Torben's room, and there is the fact that by the time the recordings were made, Vincent had lived in Norway for almost two years, and may simply have been out of touch with the cues of Danish children's culture. Cues which confirm these assumptions are the fact that Vincent starts repeating Torben's phrases and exclamations which refer to Danish children's culture, and the fact that Torben is overwhelmingly the one who initiates conversation topics. During the interventions by Torben's father, the interaction ratio between the two boys becomes more balanced again.

Note that Vincent moves on when his interlocutor does not collaborate in the construction of a successful repair, and synchronises his utterances with Torben's, instead of attempting to re-initiate repair when it has proved unsuccessful. So although Danish is Vincent's "best language",<sup>30</sup> and his linguistic competence would enable him to initiate and carry out the entire spectre of repair, he demonstrates discourse competence by instead opting for a more effective strategy of moving on (for an illustration of the matter, see Example 7.10 and Example 7.18).

### *French recording*

The French recording, as a friendly adult-child interaction, is asymmetrical, with the grandmother initiating more turns and speaking during longer intervals than Vincent. The grandmother is also the one to initiate new topics, and she repeatedly encourages Vincent to talk and participate in the activity at hand (painting a mountain with snow, houses and people on skis).

### *7.5.2 Influence of linguistic competence*

Considering that this is a case-study of a trilingual child, it would have been interesting to detect any relationship between linguistic competence and understanding of the organisation of repair in each language. I cannot see any indications, however, of such interdependence in my data. The very fact that there seems to be so little coherence between Vincent's linguistic competence and discourse competence in each of his languages - while Danish was arguably his strongest language, for instance, he had most difficulties in adapting his discourse to his interlocutor's in the Danish recording - it is nonetheless interesting in

---

<sup>30</sup> The term "best language" was coined by Hoffmann (1985), as an alternative to the term "mother tongue", which can be confusing when dealing with trilinguals.

itself, since it supports Sacks *et al.*'s (1974) thesis of the existence of a context-free organisation for turn-taking and, *in extenso*, repair. As such, it identifies repair as a resource in language acquisition, since the learner old enough to master repair (we have seen in Section 6.1.1 that according to studies referred to by Comeau and Genesee (2001), as well as Comeau and Genesee's study itself, understanding of repair as an interactional resource is in place by the age of 3½) will not have to re-learn the entire organisation of talk-in-interaction when he acquires a new language. Instead, he will be able to use repair cues and contextualisation cues as a communicative resource.

### 7.5.3 *Language mixing, code switching and repair*

#### *Code-switching in repair*

In all three recordings, I have only detected two instances (both in the French recordings) where Vincent uses code-switching as an interactional resource. In Example 6.4, which is taken from the French recording, he uses code-switching with extensive flagging before the switch, which is into a language which his grandmother does not speak. I have argued in Chapter 6 that I identify this instance of code-switching as a self-initiated other-repair, and the foreign-language word as “best-he-could-think-of” in lack of the appropriate word in French.

#### *Repair of code-switching and language mixing*

In all three recordings, there are several instances of both phonetic, lexical and syntactic transfer, and instances of Vincent starting to sing Norwegian children's songs. In the Norwegian recording, there are frequent Danish transfers when Vincent speaks to Marius, as well as those instances where Vincent code-switches to Danish to speak to his father. Marius never comments on any of these, and he does not comment on Vincent's playing a children's song in Danish. At some point, he even sings along with the Danish children's music (Norwegian recording, 55 min.).

In the Danish recording, Torben does not comment on the transfers from Norwegian either. It is also noteworthy that Vincent sings along with Danish children's songs which he did not know before visiting Torben (for example at 7:00 min.), but that in one instance (at



29:00 min.) he starts singing a Norwegian children's song after a long, excited delivery by his interlocutor.

All in all, transfers from Danish to Norwegian were by far the most frequent, and there were more transfers from Norwegian to Danish than from Scandinavian to French. This is not surprising, considering that Danish and Norwegian are much more closely related than Scandinavian and French (see also Chapter 4 and 5).

#### 7.5.4 *Repair and verbal play*

All three recordings present instances of verbal play, defined by Crystal (1997:410) as “the playful manipulation of the elements of language, either in relation to each other, or in relation to the social or cultural contexts of language use”. All three recordings also have instances of repair developing into verbal play. Example 7.11 presents a Norwegian example, where Vincent engages in verbal play by performing an other-initiated other-repair with the “English translation” of pirate boat, and Marius teases him by twisting the word in a taboo direction, after which the boys start playing with sounds. Example 7.12 presents an instance from the French recording, where Vincent turns his self-initiated self-repair into word play with rhyme. The following example from the Danish recording shows the verbal play by Torben, which actually succeeds upon a self-initiated self-repair:

*Example 7.19: Repair developing into verbal play*

*Torben has temporarily forgotten Vincent's name*

	<b>Vincent</b>	<b>Torben</b>	<b>translation</b>
1		nej ! uhm, hvad er det nu du hedder ? VINcent ! hej Vincent/	no ! 'uhm' what did you say your name was ? Vincent ! hey Vincent
2	hej ! he:j hej: Torben		hey ! hey hey Torben
3 →		hejejejejeje ! du må selv bestemme eller ej	'hejejejejeje' ! you may decide yourself or not
4	tatatudidi:da		'tatatudidida'

(Danish recording, 26:00-26:30 min.)

In the above example, the verbal play is initiated by Torben in (3) as a succession to the self-initiated self-repair in (1). Vincent chimes in and participates in his subsequent turn (4).

The French recording also provides an interesting example where Vincent uses code-switching as verbal play:



Example 7.20: Code-switching as verbal play

*Vincent's grandmother has just given him an order*

	Vincent	Grandmother	translation
1 →	(DK/N/NL pron., voc.) JA ! u: [φα]		yes ! 'u'
2		oui/ (NL pron., voc.) ja ja [φαφα.]	indeed yes yes
3	jej hou hi ha ! –		'jej hou hi ha' ! -
4	//ouch ! - ouch !//	atten/tion, hein ! voi:là ! tu as TES pinceaux , un deux - trois - //quatre - cinq//	be careful, huh ! ... here ! you have your own brushes one two three four five Vincent: ouch ouch'

(French recording, 01:00 min.)

The “ja !” – *yes !* in (1) is said in a joking manner, and the grandmother does not fail to pick up the cue and “play the game” in (2). In (3) Vincent continues the verbal play, but his grandmother does not follow up and continues to speak about painting in (4).

All in all, it would appear that verbal play can serve as a contextualisation cue like code-switching and repair, and that ability to initiate and understand cues of verbal play is acquired alongside the other contextualisation cues. Thus, ability to understand and produce verbal play, code-switching and repair are central features of communicative competence, serving as resources in the acquisition of linguistic competence, and as elements of discourse competence in conversational interaction.

### 7.5.5 The interdependence of repair and contextualisation

#### *Contextualisation and the preference for self-repair*

As we saw in the Section on contextualisation, one of Schegloff *et al.*'s (1977) arguments for a preference for self-repair is that other-repair is often mitigated. Relating this notion to my data, I did find instances in all three recordings where other-initiated repair was formulated in an interrogative manner – most often by repeating the trouble-source utterance. An example is Example 7.7 “kravle frem ?” – *crawl forward ?* Formulation in interrogative opens up for the repair to be carried out as a self-repair (i.e. the repair becomes an other-initiated self-repair, instead of an other-initiated other-repair), which is consistent with a

preference for self-repair. I have, however, noted in Section 7.3.4 that it can be difficult to determine whether these repetitions in interrogative form (such as the ones in Example 7.15 and 7.16) are embedded corrections or simply markers of agreement – although intonation can give us good clues. In the two examples, Vincent did at any rate not pick up the cues as corrections. Examples of other-initiation formulated with various turn-constructive devices abound in the Norwegian and Danish recordings, e.g. Example 6.5 “hva for noe da ?” - *what then ?* (Norwegian), Example 6.9, turn 4 “hvad ?” - *what ?* (Danish), and Example 7.6 “ha ?” - *huh ?* (Norwegian). I have not, however, found any incidence of these initiation-weakening turn-constructive devices in the French recording.

I also have not found examples of other-initiation where uncertainty markers (other than the formulation of the repair in an interrogative mode) have been used as mitigators. This could be due to the fact that the interlocutors in the recordings are very familiar with each other, which makes “politeness markers” less necessary. Another explanation could be the fact that children in peer conversations use a more direct speech manner than do adults in adult conversation.

#### *Relevance of repair and contextualisation*

I have found no instances where self-initiated repair is used as an interactional resource such as described by Jefferson (1973).<sup>31</sup> I also have not found any other instances where self-initiated self-repair seemed to fulfill the role of contextualisation cue, or where self-initiated self-repair seemed influenced by other contextualisation cues. I only found one single instance of self-initiated other-repair (Example 6.4). The fact that this one single instance occurred in the French recording, and that Vincent was the one initiating other-repair is perhaps not a coincidence, considering the asymmetry in competence of the two interlocutors.

Other-initiated repair in the Danish and French recordings only seems to have been performed whenever communication was obstructed, whereas the Norwegian recording presents instances where other-repair is performed as part of a heated discussion, e.g. Chapter 6, Example 10. On the other hand, as I have remarked in Section 7.5.3, Torben and Marius do not comment once on Vincent's transfers from Danish and Norwegian. This would be in accordance with Cicourel's finding (1973, quoted in McTear 1985:180) that in interaction between participants of equal status, correction is only made if there is an obstruction of

communication, and that correction not performed to lift an obstruction to communication is an indicator for disagreement. In accordance with Comeau and Genesee's findings (2001), Vincent also correctly identifies the reasons of other-repair to his trouble-source utterances, and carries out the appropriate repair. Not once does he misinterpret repair initiations for being code-based (i.e. due to the fact that he was speaking the inappropriate language).

## 7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have used Schegloff *et al.*'s (1977) theory, as well as the CA notions of *contextualisation*, *interactional achievement*, and *sequentiality* to show how in my recordings, context and repair mutually influence each other, and how repair can function as a contextualisation cue. Vincent and his interlocutors show that they are all able to both understand and (co)-construct appropriate repair sequences, and that they are able to negotiate their discourse identities in the course of conversation. While the difference in competence between Vincent and his grandmother were apparent in the adult-child interaction, I have not found a higher incidence of adult-initiated other repair in the French recording, and can therefore not support Schegloff *et al.*'s (1977:380-1) speculation on the matter (which was, as reported in Section 6.5, that in adult-child conversation, other-correction appears not as infrequent and one vehicle for socialisation). The instances of non-repair of code-switching and language mixing - which on the lexical and phonological level only occur in the Norwegian and Danish recordings - indicate that Vincent's interlocutors do not object to code-switching as long as they can understand what is being said. Finally, I have not found any correspondence between Vincent's linguistic competence and his understanding of repair, which confirms the assumption that understanding of repair is a metalinguistic faculty.

---

<sup>31</sup> One example from Jefferson's article (p. 193) is a woman in court stating "... When thuh ku- officer came up ...", which can be interpreted as her making a point that she wanted to say "cop", but repaired her utterance because of the setting., but still betrayed (willfully or not) what her original intentions were.

## 8 Conclusions

### 8.1 Language socialisation through repair

It has been one purpose of this study to investigate the role and potential of repair as an instrument for the language socialisation of a trilingual five-year-old. As other studies had shown that children acquire the faculty to use and understand repair from an early age, it was my expectation that repair would have great potential as instrument in the language acquisition process of the trilingual child under investigation. Adopting a two-step approach to the analysis of my data, I found that starting with a context-free analysis (as proposed by Li Wei 1998, and Sacks *et al.* 1974), and first considering the organisational aspect of repair, enabled me to use this context-free analysis as base for an analysis of the context-sensitive, interactional aspect of repair. This context-sensitive aspect materialised as the interlocutors in my recordings demonstrated communicative competence by adapting their use of the repair system to the interactional context of the conversation.

Contrary to my expectations, I did not find any coherence between the incidence of self-initiated self-repair and linguistic competence, and noted that the “empirical skewing” for self-repair reported by Schegloff *et al.* (1977) only applied to self-initiated self-repair, as there was only one single instance of self-initiated other-repair in my recordings. My findings also do not support speculations by Schegloff *et al.* (1977) about an elevated incidence of other-repair in adult-child conversation. On the other hand, the Norwegian conversation showed frequent and successful use of other-initiated self-repair by Vincent’s interlocutor, which makes a case for the potential of peer talk in language socialisation.

Focusing on the *situated* meaning of repair proved revealing of the interactional significance of the repair instances which I observed, and thus, this was the key to connecting repair with communicative competence. I detected that repair is a mechanism which is highly effective in language socialisation, as it is both dependent on contextualisation cues and interactional tools such as code-switching and verbal play, and can constitute them itself. Furthermore, considering the situated meaning of repair enabled me to appreciate how, for instance, the process through which repair results in failure could be an indicator of the understanding of the interactional context of repair, and thereby a demonstration of communicative competence. Even – or rather, especially – the situated meaning of *non*-repair turned out to be significant, as the Danish recording in particular showed instances where Vincent’s non-repair seemed to be an interactional resource used to maintain the

interlocutor's face. Ability to use this interactional resource was yet another demonstration of discourse competence. All in all, the fact that the meaning of repair is primarily situated in the interaction between two interlocutors, and can not be attributed invariably to distinctive repair forms in themselves, is yet another argument for recognising the important role of socialisation for language acquisition by the trilingual child.

The Scandinavian semi-communication which the literature on inter-Scandinavian communication refers to, did not manifest itself in my recordings, despite Vincent's frequent code-switching with Danish when speaking Norwegian, and his singing songs in "the other language". Example 7.17 is the only case where Vincent's interlocutor maybe repaired his code-switching – although Vincent did not perceive him to be doing so. All in all, I have not found any indication that Vincent's code-switching between Danish and Norwegian was an obstacle to communication in the Scandinavian recordings, and I have not been able to detect any coherence between the fact that two of Vincent's languages are much more closely related to each other than to the third language, and the use and understanding of repair in these languages.

The fact that this study did not indicate any coherence between the informant's linguistic competence and his ability to understand or produce repair – whether with regard to the organisation of repair or with regard to repair's interactional aspects – underscores the importance of adopting a holistic approach to the study of trilinguals, since ability to use and understand repair appears to be a metalinguistic faculty in the trilingual speaker/listener.

Throughout this study, repair has proved to be an excellent parameter for revealing the influence of language socialisation on Vincent's language acquisition, on condition that both the organisational and interactional context of repair be taken into account.

## 8.2 CA as method of analysis

CA turned out to be a highly suited methodological framework for the analysis of language socialisation through repair. Firstly, CA is designed especially for the inductive analysis of interactional aspects of *natural conversation*. As we have seen, the psycholinguistic and SAT-inspired approaches mainly work on the basis of invented data or data collected in experimental settings. However, the analysis of language socialisation is best done on the basis of data from naturalistic conversation, since this kind of interaction is also the channel through which language socialisation takes place in real life.

Secondly, CA takes into consideration the *context* of repair, which is not the case with most other approaches, that content themselves with studying repair instances as isolated data. As we have seen, the meaning of repair is largely situated in its interactional context, and this context must therefore be taken into consideration each time an instance of repair is analysed. Furthermore, CA theory emphasises the importance of considering the *relevance* of repair, and urges the analyst to also consider instances of *non-repair*, which warrants a dynamic approach and an analysis from the perspective of the interlocutors, and not the analyst. By adopting the CA approach (after having unsuccessfully tried to categorise and quantify my data) to the analysis of my data, I found that a rudimentary quantification within the framework of CA, as I have presented in this study, enabled me to identify patterns of repair use, which I could then situate within their interactional context. This rudimentary quantification was significantly different from my earlier attempts, where a detailed taxonomy and quantification of my findings did not seem to provide me with any insight into Vincent's communicative competence, partly because natural conversation is not an efficient manner of producing large enough quantities of data material, and partly because any conclusions based on statistic evidence could only be a reflection of speculations and assumptions on my behalf.

On the downside, one important obstruction to the use of CA in child language research in Norway is the fact that legal restrictions do not permit recordings with children to be made publicly available, and that thus, readers cannot refer directly to the corpus of data in accordance with principles of CA methodology. I have, however, felt that by providing the reader with a full transcription of the conversations under investigation, I have compensated for much of the problem. I have, also, taken care not to refer to my transcriptions as “the data”, but stuck to calling them “the transcriptions of the data/recordings”.

### 8.3 Suggestions for further research

It is regrettable, that so little of the extensive research on bilingualism, trilingualism and multilingualism is known to the public – both parents, teachers and speech therapists. This is partly to blame on the complexity and inaccessibility of the research in the field, and the surprising lack of communication between scholars of bilingualism studies and L2 acquisition studies. In this respect, it seems that trilingualism/L3 acquisition studies have fared better, but since trilingualism/L3 studies are still relatively scarce, deal with a relatively small population, and largely base themselves on the theoretical framework of bilingualism studies, these have not yet reached out to a larger public either.



No research has yet been carried out on children who speak more than one Scandinavian language. This is a pity, since such research would have a potential to teach us much on inter-Scandinavian communication and the acquisition of closely related languages. Further research on children with two Scandinavian languages plus one other language (such as the child in this study) has even greater potential for uncovering information on the acquisition of closely related languages, since it has the advantage of comparing the acquisition of two closely related languages with the acquisition of another, more distantly related one.

Throughout this study, I have found that CA has great potential as a methodology for uncovering aspects of trilingual children's developing communicative competence. Yet, CA-based research on bilingual children seems to be mostly centered around the alternating use of languages, while research on other aspects of bilingual and trilingual children's communicative competence is still in its infancy. More CA-based research on bilingual and trilingual children's communicative competence, and not in the least CA-based analyses of bilingual and trilingual children's use and understanding of repair, could turn out to provide us with a range of insights with important practical relevance.

# References

- Aarsæther, F. 2004. *To språk i en tekst. kodeveksling i samtaler mellom pakistansk-norske tiåringer*. Unipub A/S, Oslo.
- Anselmi, D., M. Tomasello, and M. Acunzo. 1986. "Young children's responses to neutral and specific contingent queries", pp. 135-144 in *Journal of Child Language*, no. 13. Cambridge UP, Cambridge.
- Arnberg, L. 1987. *Raising children bilingually: The Pre-School Years*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.
- Austin, J. 1962. *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford UP, New York.
- Barnes, J. 2002. *The Acquisition of Questions in English by a Trilingual Child*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Mondragon Unibertsitatea, Eskoriatza.
- Barron-Hauwaert, S. 2004. *Language Strategies for Bilingual Families – the One-Parent-One-Language Approach*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.
- Berman, R., and D. Slobin. 1994. *Relating Events in Narrative: A Crosslinguistic Developmental Study*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale (NJ).
- Bloomfield, L. 1933. *Language*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Blum-Kulka, S., and C. Snow. 2004. "Introduction: the potential of peer talk", pp. 291-306 in *Discourse Studies*. Vol. 6(3). SAGE, London.
- Blum-Kulka, S., D. Huck-Taglicht and H. Avni. 2004. "The social and discursive spectrum of peer talk", pp. 307-328 in *Discourse Studies*. Vol. 6(3). SAGE, London.
- Bohannon III, J., and J. Bonvillian. 2001. "Theoretical Approaches to Language Acquisition", pp. 254-314 in Jean Berko Gleason, ed. *The Development of Language*. 5<sup>th</sup> edition. Allyn and Bacon, Boston.
- Brodersen, R. 1998. "Leksikalsk akkomodation blandt 11 danskere i Norge", pp. 57-87 in Gunnstein Akselberg and Jarle Bondevik, eds. *Ord etter ord. Heidersskrift til Oddvar Nes*. Norsk Bogleideringslag, Bergen.
- Brown, H. D. 2000. *Principles of Language Learning and Teaching. Fourth Edition*. Longman, White Plains.
- Bruner, J. 1978. "The role of dialogue in language acquisition", pp. 241-256 in A.Sinclair *et al.*, eds. *The Child's Conception of Language*. Springer Verlag, Berlin.
- Bryant, J. 2001. "Language in Social Contexts: Communicative Competence in the Preschool Years", pp. 213-253 in J. Berko Gleason, ed. *The Development of Language*. 5<sup>th</sup> edition. Allyn and Bacon, Boston.

- Cenoz, J. 2003. "The additive effect of bilingualism on third language acquisition: A review", pp. 71-87 in *The International Journal of Bilingualism*. 7 (1).
- Cenoz, J., and F. Genesee. 1998. "Psycholinguistic Perspectives on Multilingualism and Multilingual Education", pp. 16-32 in Jasone Cenoz and Fred Genesee eds. *Beyond Bilingualism: Multilingualism and Multilingual Education*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.
- Chomsky, N. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. MIT Press, Cambridge (Mass.).
- Chomsky, N. 1986. *Knowledge of language: its nature, origin, and use*. Praeger, New York.
- Clark, E. 1985. "The Acquisition of Romance, with Special Reference to French", pp. 687-782 in *The Crosslinguistic Study of Language Acquisition*. D. Slobin, ed., Vol. 1. Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale.
- Clyne, M. 1997. "Some of the Things Trilinguals Do", pp. 95-116 in *The International Journal of Bilingualism*. 1 (2).
- Clyne, M., C. Rossi Hunt, and T. Isaakidis (in press) "Learning a Community Language as a Third Language", *International Journal on Multilingualism*.
- Comeau, L., and F. Genesee. 2001. "Bilingual children's repair strategies during dyadic communication", pp. 231-256 in *Trends in Bilingual Acquisition*. J. Cenoz and F. Genesee, eds. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Cook-Gumperz, J. 1986. "Caught in a Web of Words: Some Considerations in Language Socialization and Language Acquisition", pp. 37-60 in Cook-Gumperz, Corsaro and Streeck, eds. *Children's Worlds and Children's Language*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Cormon, F. 1992. "l'Interlangue". pp. 89-97 in *L'enseignement des langues. Théories et exercices pratiques*. Chronique social.
- Corsaro, W. 1977. "The clarification request as a feature of adult interactive styles with young children", pp. 183-207 in *Language in Society*. no. 6.
- Corsaro, W. 1985. *Friendship and Peer Culture in the Early Years*. Ablex, Norwood.
- Corsaro, W., and J. Streeck. 1986. "Studying Children's Worlds: Methodological Issues", pp. 13-36 in Cook-Gumperz, Corsaro and Streeck, eds. *Children's Worlds and Children's Language*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Crystal, D. 1997. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Fourth Edition. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Council of Europe. 1992. *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (CETS 148)*
- De Houwer, A. 1995. "Bilingual language acquisition", in P. Fletcher and B. MacWhinney, eds. *Handbook of Child Language*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- De Houwer, A. 2003. "Trilingual Input and Children's Language Use in Trilingual Families in Flanders", in Charlotte Hoffmann and Jehannes Ytsma, eds. *Trilingualism in Family, School and Community*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.

- Deprez, C. 1999. *Les enfants bilingues: langues et familles*. Crédif/Didier, Saint-Cloud.
- Dimitracopoulou, I. 1990. *Conversational competence and social development*. Cambridge UP, Cambridge.
- Elwert, W. 1973. "Das zweisprachige Individuum: Ein Selbsterzeugnis", in *Studien zu den romanischen Sprachen*, Band IV (1-81). Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden.
- Gallagher, T. 1977. "Revision behavior in the speech of normal children developing language", pp. 303-318 in *Journal of Speech and Hearing Research*, 20.
- Gallagher, T. 1981. "Contingent Query sequences within adult-child discourse", pp. 51-62 in *Journal of Child Language*, no. 8. Cambridge UP, Cambridge.
- Garvey, C. 1977. "The Contingent Query: A Dependent Act in Conversation", pp. 63-93 in M. Lewis and L. Rosenblum, eds. *Interaction, Conversation and the Development of Language*. John Wiley & Sons, New York.
- Garvey, C. 1979. "Contingent Queries and their Relations in Discourse", pp. 363-372 in E. Ochs and B. Schiefelin, eds. *Developmental Pragmatics*. Academic Press, New York.
- Geerts, G. 1997. "Nederlands in België", pp.563-596 in M.C. van den Toorn, W.J.J. Pijnenburg e.a., eds. *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse taal*. Amsterdam UP, Amsterdam.
- Grammont, M. 1902. *Observations sur le Langage des Enfants*. Mélanges Meillet, Paris.
- Grice, H. P., 1975. "Logic and Conversation", pp. 41-58 in Peter Cole and Jerry Morgan, eds. *Syntax and Semantics 3. Speech Acts*. Academic Press, New York.
- Grosjean, F. 1985. "The bilingual as a competent but specific speaker-hearer", pp. 467-477 in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. no. 6.
- Grosjean, F. 1992. "Another View of Bilingualism", pp. 51-62 in R. Harris, ed. *Cognitive Processing in Bilinguals*. Elsevier Science Publishers, Amsterdam.
- Grosjean, F. 1998. "Studying bilinguals: Methodological and conceptual issues", pp. 131-149 in *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*. Cambridge UP, Cambridge.
- Guldal, T. 1997. *Three Children, Two Languages. The role of code selection in organizing conversation*. Dr.Art. thesis, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.
- Gumperz, J. 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge UP, Cambridge.
- Hamers, J., and M. Blanc. 2000. *Bilinguality and Bilingualism. Second Edition*. Cambridge UP, Cambridge.
- Harding, E., and Riley, P. 1986. *The Bilingual Family. A Handbook for Parents*. Cambridge UP, Cambridge.
- Haugen, E. 1981. "Skandinavisk som mellomspråk. Forskning og fremtid", pp. 121-139 in Claes-Christian Elert, ed. *Internordisk språkförståelse*. Universitetet i Umeå, Umeå.

- Have, P. ten. 1999. *Doing Conversation Analysis*. Sage, London.
- Helot, C. 1988. "Bringing up children in English, French and Irish: two case studies", pp. 281-287 in *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 1 (3).
- Hoffmann, C. 1985. "Language acquisition in two trilingual children", pp. 479-494 in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 6 (6).
- Hoffmann, C. 2000. "Bilingual and trilingual competence: Problems of description and differentiation", pp. 83-92 in *Estudios de Sociolingüística* 1 (1).
- Hoffmann, C. 2001a. "The status of trilingualism in bilingualism studies" in J. Cenoz, B. Hufeisen and U. Jessner, eds. *Looking beyond second language acquisition*. Stauffenburg Verlag, Tübingen.
- Hoffmann, C. 2001b. "Towards a description of trilingual competence", pp. 1-17 in *The International Journal of Bilingualism*. 5 (1) March 2001.
- Hoffmann, C., and S. Widdicombe. 1999. "Code-switching and language dominance in the trilingual child", pp. 51-61 in AILE, Proceedings of the 8<sup>th</sup> EUROSIA Conference Paris, vol. 1, Special Issue.
- Hoffmann, C., and J. Ytsma, eds. 2003. *Trilingualism in Family, School and Community*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.
- Hutchby, I., and R. Wooffit. 1998. *Conversation Analysis*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Hymes, D. 1972. "On communicative competence", in J. Pride and J. Holmes, eds. *Sociolinguistics*. Penguin, Harmondsworth (UK).
- Jefferson, G. 1972. "Side sequences", pp. 294-338 in D. Sudnow, ed. *Studies in Social Interaction*. Free Press, New York.
- Jefferson, G. 1973. "Error correction as an interactional resource", pp. 181-199 in *Language in Society*, 2.
- Jefferson, G. 1987. "On exposed and embedded correction in conversation", pp. 86-100 in G. Button and J. Lee, eds. *Talk and Social Organisation*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.
- Keenan, E. O., 1977. "Conversational competence in children", pp. 163-183 in *Journal of Child Language*. I. (Reprinted 1983 in E. Ochs and B. Schieffelin, eds. *Acquiring Conversational Competence*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.)
- Labov, W. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Pennsylvania.
- Landschultz, K. 1984. *Hvordan lærer jeg fransk udtale ?* Schønberg, København.
- Lanza, E. 1992. "Can bilingual two-years-olds codeswitch ?" pp. 633-58 in *Journal of Child Language* 19.

- Lanza, E. 1994. "Om 'halvspråklighet' og tospråklighet", pp. 133-148 in A. Hvenekilde, ed., *Veier til kunnskap og deltagelse: Utviklingen af grunnskoletilbudet til elever fra språklige minoriteter*. Novus, Oslo.
- Lanza, E. 1997. *Language Mixing in Infant Bilingualism*. Oxford UP, Oxford.
- Lanza, E. 2001. "Bilingual first language acquisition: A discourse perspective on language contact in parent-child interaction", pp. 201-230 in Jasone Cenoz and Fred Genesee, eds. *Trends in Bilingual Acquisition*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Lanza, E. 2004. "Language socialization of infant bilingual children in the family: Quo vadis?" pp. 21-39 in X. Rodriguez-Yanez *et al.*, *Bilingualism and Education: From the Family to the School*. Lincom Europe, München.
- Lazaraton, Anne. 2002. "Quantitative and qualitative approaches to discourse analysis", pp. 32-51 in *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, no. 22.
- Leopold, W. 1939-1949. *Speech Development of a Bilingual Child*. 4 vols. Northwestern University Press, Evanston.
- Li Wei. 1998. "The 'why' and 'how' questions in the analysis of conversational code-switching", pp. 156-76 in P. Auer, ed. *Code-switching in conversation. Language, Interaction and Identity*. Routledge, London.
- Li Wei. 2000. "Dimensions of bilingualism", pp. 3-25 in Li Wei, ed. *The Bilingualism Reader*. Routledge, London.
- Li Wei. 2002. "'What do you want me to say?' On the Conversation Analysis approach to bilingual interaction", pp. 159-180 in *Language in Society*. No. 31. Cambridge UP, Cambridge.
- Marcos, H., and J. Bernicot. 1994. "Addressee co-operation and request reformulation in young children", pp. 677-692 in *Journal of Child Language*, 21.
- Maurud, Ø. 1976. *Nabospråkforståelse i Skandinavia*. Nordiska Rådet, Stockholm.
- McTear, M. 1985. *Children's Conversation*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Mead, G. 1934. *Mind, Self and Society*. C. Morris, ed. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Milroy, L. and P. Muyskens. 1995. Introduction to *One speaker, two languages. Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*. L. Milroy and P. Muyskens, eds. Cambridge UP, Cambridge.
- NAPA - The Nordic Institute in Greenland, *Facts on Greenland Kalaallit Nunaat - the largest island in the world*, 2nd rev. ed., 1998.
- Navracsics, J. 1999. *The Acquisition of Hungarian by trilingual children*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Veszprém, Veszprém-Pecs.
- Ninio, A., and C. Snow. 1996. *Pragmatic Development*. 1996. Westview Press, Oxford.

- Ochs, E. 1979. "Transcription as theory", pp. 43-72 in E. Ochs and B. Schieffelin, eds. *Developmental Pragmatics*. Academic Press, New York.
- Ochs, E. 2001. "Socialization", pp. 227-230 in A. Duranti, ed. *Key Terms in Language and Culture*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Oksaar, E. 1977. "On becoming trilingual", pp. 296-306 in Molony, Zobl and Stölting, eds. *Deutsch im Kontakt mit anderen Sprachen*. Scriptor Verlag, Kronberg.
- Piaget, J. 1926. *The Language and Thought of the Child*. Routledge and Kegan Poul, London.
- Plunkett, K., and S. Strömquist. 1992. "The Acquisition of Scandinavian Languages", pp. 457-556 in D. Slobin, ed. *The Crosslinguistic Study of Language Acquisition*. Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale.
- Quay, S. 2001. "Managing linguistic boundaries in early trilingual development", pp. 149-200 in J. Cenoz and F. Genesee, eds. *Trends in Bilingual Acquisition*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Quay, S. 2002. "Measuring up to expectations: what constitutes evidence in child language research", pp. 115-123 in R. Brend, W. Sullivan and A. Lommel, eds. *LACUS forum XXVIII*. Linguistic Association of Canada and the U.S., Houston.
- Quay, S. 2003. "Language Acquisition in the Daycare", pp. 117-126 in *Educational Studies*, 45.
- Quay, S. 2004. "Caregiver input and language development", pp. 227-234 in G. Fulton, J. Sullivan and A. Lommel, eds. *LACUS forum XXX: Language, Thought and Reality*. LACUS, Houston.
- Ringbom, H. 1989. "Inlärning af nära besläktade språk", pp. 79-87 in G. Kasper and J. Wagner, eds. *Grundbog i Fremmedsprogsundervisning*. Gyldendal, Copenhagen.
- Romaine, S. 1995. *Bilingualism*. Second Edition. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Romaine, S. 1999. "Early bilingual development: from elite to folk", pp. 61-72 in G. Extra and L. Verhoeven, eds. *Bilingualism and Migration*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Ronjat, J. 1913. *Le développement du langage observé chez un enfant bilingue*. Champion, Paris.
- Sacks, H., E. Schegloff and G. Jefferson. 1974. "A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation", pp. 696-735 in *Language*, 50.
- Sandøy, H. 2003. "Språkomgrepet, språkholdninger og purismen", pp. 19-36 in H. Sandøy, R. Brodersen og E. Brunstad, eds. *Purt og reint. Om purisme i dei nordiske språka*. Høgskulen i Volda, Volda.
- Schegloff, E. 1988. "Presequences and indirection. Applying speech act theory to ordinary conversation", pp. 55-62 in *Journal of Pragmatics*, 12.

- Schegloff, E. 1989. "Reflections on Language Development and the Interactive Character of Talk-in-Interaction", pp. 139-153 in M. Bornstein and J. Bruner, eds. *Interaction in Human Development*. Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale (NJ).
- Schegloff, E. 1992. "To Searle on conversation: a note in return", pp. 113-127 in J. Searle *et al.*, eds. *(On) Searle on Conversation*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Schegloff, E. 1993. "Reflections on quantification in the study of conversation", pp. 99-128 in *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 26 (1).
- Schegloff, E., G. Jefferson and H. Sacks. 1977. "The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation", pp. 361-382 in *Language*, 53.
- Schieffbusch, R. 1984. Introduction to R. Schieffbusch and J. Pickar, eds. *The Acquisition of Communicative Competence*. University Park Press, Baltimore.
- Schiffrin, D. 1994. *Approaches to Discourse*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Scollon, R. 1979. "A Real Early Stage: An Unzippered Condensation of a Dissertation on Child Language", pp. 215-228 in E. Ochs and B. Schieffelin, eds. *Developmental Pragmatics*. Academic Press, New York
- Searle, J. 1969. *Speech Acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge UP, Cambridge.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 1984. *Bilingualism or Not: The Education of Minorities*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.
- Solberg, H. 2001. "Teaching English in a Multicultural Classroom", pp. 20-25 in *Språk og språkundervisning*. Landslaget moderne språk, 3.
- Spilton, D., and L. Lee. 1977. "Some Determinants of Effective Communication in Four-Year-Olds", pp. 968-977 in *Child Development*, 48.
- Statistisk Sentralbyrå. 2004. Statistics on immigration: <http://www.ssb.no/innvandring>
- Svennevig, J. 1999. *Getting Acquainted in Conversation. A Study of Initial Interactions*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Swain, M. 1984. "Large-Scale Communicative Language Testing: A Case Study", pp. 185-202 in S. Savignon and M. Berns, eds. *Initiatives in Communicative Language Teaching*. Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Reading (Mass.)
- Uhlmann, U.B. 1996. "Språkligt detektivarbete. Om problemkällor i interskandinavisk kommunikation", pp. 75-86 i Mats Thelander e.a. eds. *Samspel & variation. Språkliga studier tillägnade Bengt Nordberg på 60-årsdagen*. Institutionen för nordiska språk - Uppsala universitet, Uppsala.
- Vikør, L. 2001. *The Nordic Languages. Their Status and Interrelations*. Novus Press, Oslo.
- Vygotsky, L. 1978. *Mind in Society*. Harvard UP, Cambridge (Mass.)



Vygotsky, L. 1986. *Thought and Language*. MIT Press, Cambridge (Mass.)

Wilcox, M. J., and E. Webster. 1980. "Early Discourse Behavior: An Analysis of Children's Responses to Listener Feedback", pp. 1120-1125 in *Child Development*, 51.

Wong, J. 2000. "Delayed next turn repair initiation in native/non-native speaker English conversation", pp. 244-267 in *Applied Linguistics*, 21.

# Appendix 1: Specimen of consent form

## Samtykke

Undertegnede, som er indehaver(e) af forældremyndigheden til (BARNETS NAVN), som er mindreårig, erklærer herved at samtykke i, at audio-optagelser af den mindreårige, samt en sproglig analyse af disse optagelser, indgår i Anne-Valérie Sickinghe's hovedopgave i anvendt lingvistik ved Universitetet i Oslo. Vejleder til opgaven er prof.dr. E.Lanza. Opgaven er mendt til Personvernombudet for forskning ved Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS.

Idet hovedfagskandidaten er bosat i Norge, og opgaven skrives ved en norsk institution, vil norsk lovgivning være gældende med hensyn til personvern.

I henhold til Personopplysningslovens bestemmelser gælder tilladelsen alle deler af optagelsen og analysen. Opgaven forventes leveret til sensur i foråret 2005.

Samtykken gives på følgende vilkår:

- 8 Analysen skal kun omhandle sproglige aspekter af den mindreåriges udtalelser, og ikke uddybe om hans/hendes personlige forhold eller personlighed udover det som er direkte relevant for analysen.
- 8 Den mindreårige anonymiseres i transkriptionerne og hovedopgaven.
- 8 Nærværende tilladelse kan på ethvert tidspunkt inddrages af undertegnede. Inddrages tilladelsen, skal alt materiale hvori den mindreårige forekommer slettes.
- 8 Undertegnede skal modtage kopi af det audio-materiale hvor den mindreårige forekommer. Han/hun skal tillige modtage skriftlig kopi af hele opgaven hvori optagelser af den mindreårige er brugt.
- 8 Efter at hovedopgaven er leveret, skal optagelserne opbevares på et aflåst sted hos hovedfagskandidaten. Optagelserne og transkriptionerne af disse anvendes kun til rent sproglige formål, og indenfor rammerne af førnævnte vilkår.
- 8 Når den mindreårige, hvis medvirkning der her gives samtykke til, fylder 18 år, vil han/hun selv kunne samtykke til yderligere opbevaring af optagelserne.

-----, den -----

(underskrift)

(underskrift)

## *Translation of specimen of consent form*

### Consent

The undersigned, who has custody over (CHILD'S NAME), who is a minor, hereby declares to consent to the use of audio-recordings featuring the minor, as well as a linguistic analysis of these audio-recordings, in Anne-Valérie Sickinghe's Masters' thesis in applied linguistics at the University of Oslo. Supervisor to the thesis is prof.dr. E.Lanza. The ombudsman for protection of personal information at the Norwegian Social Science Data Service has been informed about the thesis.

As the Masters' candidate resides in Norway, and the assignment is written at a Norwegian institution, Norwegian legislation is applicable for as far as protection of personal information is concerned.

In agreement with the stipulations of the Law on Personal Information, the consent is applicable for all parts of the recording and the analysis. The thesis is expected to be presented for censorship in the spring of 2005.

The consent is given on following conditions:

- The analysis shall only be concerned with linguistic aspects of the minor's utterances, and not elaborate on his/her personal affairs or personality except for what is directly relevant for the analysis.
- The minor shall be anonymised in the transcriptions and the thesis.
- The present consent can be revoked by the undersigned at any time. If the consent is revoked, all material in which the minor appears shall be destroyed.
- The undersigned shall be given a copy of the audio-material in which the minor appears.
- He/she shall also be given a written copy of the entire thesis in which recordings of the minor have been used.
- After the thesis has been presented for censorship, the recordings shall be kept in a secure place by the candidate to the Masters' degree. The recordings and transcriptions of these may only be used for purely linguistic purposes, and within the framework of aforementioned conditions.
- When the minor, whose collaboration is consented to here, turns 18 years, he/she will himself be able to consent to further keeping of the recordings.

-----, -----

(signature)

(signature)



## Appendix 2: Danish transcription

Date of recording:	08.03.03
Duration:	58 mins (30 mins transcribed)
Principal interlocutor:	Torben (5;0 y). Has a younger brother (3;3 y). Vincent's and Torben's parents are long time friends, the boys meet whenever Vincent is in Denmark (once or twice a year). Torben has always lived in Copenhagen. He is bilingual in Swedish (mother) and Danish (father). Speaks Danish with a Copenhagen accent.
Other interlocutor:	Nicklas, Torben's father. Dane born and raised in Copenhagen.
Others present:	Vincent's father and Torben's brother in adjacent room.
Location:	Children's room in Torben's home in Copenhagen. Vincent has been there a few hours to get over his worst shyness.
Action:	Nicklas activates boys Boys play "pirate ship" Nicklas brings chocolate and discusses carnival with the boys Boys jump and run around Boys play "pirate ship" Torben goes out, Nicklas brings him back Boys play dice games

**Vincent****Torben/Nicklas*****translation***

<Nicklas dresses up the boys in Batman and Superman costumes, and instructs them to stay in the room and not fiddle with the recorder>

2:30

vi skal opi sørøverski:bet ! -

*we're going into the pirate ship !*

Nicklas: superhelte i sørøverski:b !

*superheroes in pirate ship !*

jeg skal styre skibet/

*I'll steer the ship*

Nicklas: så kan Vincent han kan skyde  
kanonen

*then Vincent can shoot the canon*

ja

*yes*

<sound of falling object>

hvem er det som har taget ned  
kanonen ? <5>

*who took down the canon ?*

du skyder kanonen

*you shoot the canon*

Nicklas: den er herover Vincent <7>

*it's over here Vincent*

<sounds of feet shuffling around>

3:00  
SISR(T)

jeg går lige over på n: på det andet – um  
– ned i [E] lastrummet, jeg går over til  
lastrummet <2> jeg [κυ] – jeg går over i  
lastrummet ik' ? - jeg kommer tilbage !

*I'm just going over on the on the other – 'um' -  
down to the storage room, I'm going over  
to the storage room - I - I'm going over to the  
storage room OK ? I'll be back !*

	ja ! [φA]		yes !
	du skal sty:re - skibet vi er lige ved at køre – ind i et bjerg ! styr skibet ! <20>		<i>you have to steer - the ship - we're just about to drive - into a mountain ! - steer the ship !</i>
3:30 SISR(T)	det er det ik' – det' <11> det' kun noget gammelt, det' kun noget gammelt værktøj, det' kun noget gammelt værktøj. det' kun noget gammelt værktøj. det' ik' noget for os. det' noget for {de}dem som er RIGTIG (13 x) store. <2>		<i>it's not that – it's it's only some old, it's only some old tools, it's only some old tools it's only some old tools. it's nothing for us it's something for those who are really (16 x) big</i>
OIOR(V )f	børn/ <2>		<i>children</i>
OIOR(T ) 4:00 OIOR(V )f	og for de voksne <4>  hvad er værktøj ? <4> det' også en slags dra/		<i>and for the adults  what is tools ? that's also a kind of 'dra'</i>
	kom nu !		<i>come on now !</i>
	ja ok ! [φEo∪κε]j]		<i>yes ok !</i>
SISR(T)	nej vi skal ud på land nu hvor vi er kørt ind {i i i i et bjerg} i (*)et land nu er vi kørt ind i et land. nu skal vi ind og finde noget som vi kan bruge <4> <walks out, comes back>		<i>no we're going out on land now that we have driven { into a mountain} on (a) land now we have driven into a land. now we'll go inside and find something that we can use.</i>

4:30		<u>Nicklas: hvad skal I bruge Torben ?</u>	<i>what do you need Torben ?</i>
SISR(T)		vi skal bruge noget til at – derinde	<i>we need something to – in there we must have</i>
		<u>Nicklas: hvad for noget ?</u>	<i>what thing ?</i>
SISR(T)		vi skal have - jeg skal have tyggegummi ihvertfald	<i>we need - I must have chewing gum anyways</i>
OISR(N)		<u>Nicklas: tyggegummi ?</u>	<i>chewing gum ?</i>
		ja/ tyggegummi ind i skabet der	<i>yes chewing gum in the cupboard there</i>
		<u>Nicklas: du kan få kage også, og noget vingummi</u>	<i>you can have cake too, and some winegums</i>
OISR(T)		hvad ?	<i>what ?</i>
		<u>Nicklas: xxx</u>	
		OK - nah vi må ikke få tyggegummi,	<i>OK - 'nah' we can't have chewing gum</i>
5:00	ah ! - se der er en //digimon !//	//se se se se// den her !	Vincent: <i>ah ! look there's a digimon !</i> Torben: <i>look look look look this one here !</i>
	//xxx//	//se den// har angrib'	<i>look it has attacked</i>
	det' en af digimonerne		<i>it's one of the digimons</i>
		se her ! se her ! Vincent !	<i>look here ! look here ! Vincent !</i>



	ja: [øA]	yes
	<makes buzzing sound>	
	det' ik' sådan her/ men det' SÅDAN her. -	<i>it's not like this but like this</i>
	se på den her/	<i>look at this one</i>
	<makes buzzing sound>	
5:30	<u>Nicklas: xxx jeg har faktisk et styk chocolade. hvis du deler - hvis du deler det, så vælger Vincent først &lt;3&gt;</u>	<i>xxx I actually have a piece of chocolate if you part – if you part it, then Vincent chooses first -</i>
	xxx <3>	
	<u>Nicklas: skal jeg hjælpe med at åbne den ?</u>	<i>shall I help opening it ?</i>
6:00	nei <1.0> hm: ! ko:kos ! <6>	<i>no ... .. 'hm' ! coconut !</i>
	<makes buzzing sound> <18> ...	
6:30	<u>Nicklas: har I fået et styk hver ?</u>	<i>did you get a piece each ?</i>
	hmhm,	<i>'hmhm'</i>
	<u>Nicklas: sådan, og så skal Vincent have resten. xxx herude.</u>	<i>like that, and then Vincent gets the rest xxx out here</i>
	ja !	<i>yes !</i>

	hm ! hm: ! <4>		<i>'hm hm'</i>
7:00	hm hm ? hm hm hm: ! xxx <3>		<i>'hm hm ? hm hm hm !'</i>
	alle elsker mig ! for jeg er så sej ! <sup>32</sup> <4>		<i>everyone loves me ! because I'm so cool !</i>
7:30	<no voices, some shuffling around> <67>		
8:00	<T goes out to his father, tells him they shared the chocolate>		
8:30	<Nicklas tells T to talk a lot, but doesn't say why>		
SISR(N)	<u>Nicklas: Vincent har man fastelavn i: - i Norge ? &lt;2&gt;</u>		<i>Vincent do you have carnival in Norway ?</i>
9:00	<makes buzzing sound>		
	<u>Nicklas: Vincent ved du hvad fastelavn er ?</u>		<i>Vincent do you know what carnival is ?</i>
	<in low voice> jeg er Supermand		<i>I'm Superman</i>
	<u>Nicklas: er du Supermand ? hvad så, slå du katten af tønden i: Norge ?</u>		<i>are you Superman ? tell me, did you hit the cat off the barrel in Norway ?</i>
	<low voice> jeg var kattekonge		<i>I was the cat king</i>

---

<sup>32</sup> From Danish children's TV programme which Vincent hasn't seen.

		<u>Nicklas: blev du KATTEkonge ?</u>	<i>were you the cat king ?</i>
	<low voice> ja		<i>yes</i>
		<u>Nicklas: nej hvor sejt ! det var fandeme sejt. hvad med dig Torben ?</u>	<i>wow that's cool ! that was way cool. what about you Torben ?</i>
SISR(T)		jeg slå: jeg jeg jeg blev også kattekonge, -	<i>I hit – I also became cat king</i>
		<u>Nicklas: hvad fik man i No:rge, Vincent, når man blev kattekonge ?</u>	<i>what was there in Norway Vincent, for the cat king ?</i>
SISR(V)	euhm man fik, man fik kro:ne og så og så og så { *slået jeg } så var det jeg som *havde slået ud katten		<i>'euhm' we got, we got a crown and then and then and then { *I hit } then I was the one who *had hit off the cat</i>
		<u>Nicklas: ok, ok</u>	<i>ok, ok</i>
		se her !	<i>look here !</i>
		<u>Nicklas: var det en rigtig kat inde i tønden ?</u>	<i>was there a real cat inside the barrel ?</i>
	nej/		<i>no</i>
		<u>Nicklas: var der ikke ?</u>	<i>there wasn't ?</i>
	nej ! kun *papirkat		<i>no ! just paper cat</i>

		<u>Nicklas: nah ok.</u>	<i>oh OK</i>
		kom her !	<i>come her !</i>
		<u>Nicklas: hvad var der i tønden her i Danmark Torben ?</u>	<i>what was there in the barrel here in Denmark Torben ?</i>
10:00		slik mås- *ka'meller inde i min børnehave og så sli- slikposer ehm ehm nede på gården.	<i>candy (maybe) toffees in my nursery school and then candy bags down at the block</i>
		<u>Nicklas: OK det er sejt, hvad ?</u>	<i>OK that's cool, isn't it ?</i>
	//og jeg// fik kun slik som lå på *gulven {på et} på en madras	<jumping> houpa ! og //se//	Vincent: <i>and I only got candy that was lying on the floor on a mattress</i> Torben: <i>'houpa' and look</i>
		<still jumping> wow ! flyt dig Vincent !	<i>wow ! move over Vincent !</i>
SISR(T)	//xxx//	vil du //også ?// vil du også prøve at fly:ve.	<i>do you also want to ? do you also want to try and fly</i>
		det er sjovt at flyve herfra. <2> <jumps and runs> ha:: ! kom her ! fly:v !	<i>it's fun to fly from here 'ha' ! come here ! fly !</i>
10:30		<jumps and runs>	
		fly:v ! Vi:ncent ! -	<i>fly ! Vincent !</i>
		OK jeg får først besked da (pg::)	<i>OK I'll get "go" first then 'pg'</i>
		JEAH !	<i>yeah !</i>

	kom her flyv ! je:h !	<i>yeah ! come here fly ! yeah !</i>
	//<laughs out loud>//	
	//kom vi skal løbe// på samme tid	<i>come we'll run at the same time</i>
	<b>(EN voc.) one two three four ! &lt;3&gt;</b>	
11:00	kom her ! de bare flapper efter os ! wr:! jah !	<i>come here ! they're just flapping behind us ! 'wr' ! 'jah' !</i>
	wah ! oah !	<i>'wah' ! 'oah' !</i>
	<both boys run and jump around, shouting 'oah' !>	
11:30	nu skal jeg styre du skal skyde -	<i>now I'll steer you'll shoot</i>
SISR(T)	det' mit sørøverskib ! jeg bestemmer *om det jeg bestemmer jeg vil styre. OK, {jeg st} jeg går lige ned,	<i>it's my pirate ship I decide about it I decide I want to steer. OK, I'll (steer) I'm just going down,</i>
	OK	<i>OK</i>
	ah !	<i>'ah' !</i>
	<laughs>	
	<6> <coughs>	

12:00	hallo ? <4>		<i>hello ?</i>
		<coughs>	
	tak !		<i>thanks !</i>
		<coughs> du deler den med mig. oh ? <6> eh e:h ! - hm: ! <8>	<i>you'll share that with me. 'oh' ? 'eh eh ! hm !'</i>
	<yanking at steering wheel>  (da er de slemme sørøvere) de <b>(N voc.) holder på</b> □∪η□λ↔πo□ at skyde *vos! <10>		<i>there are the bad pirates they're about to shoot us !</i>
12:30		<outside of room> far ? - kan jeg spille xxx ? <78>	<i>dad ? can I play xxx ?</i>
13:00	<yanking at steering wheel>		
14:23	xxx Supermand [∪συπ↔ρ∩μAv] <26>		
		<N and T coming back into the room, discussing in the background>	
14:30		<T coughs>	
		<u>Nicklas: å:h hold dig for munden Torben</u>	<i>oh put your hand in front of your mouth Torben</i>

	nejmen det' fordi min arm den sidder fast der	<i>no but, that's because my arm is attached there</i>
15:00	//xxx søroverskibet !//	
SISR(N)	<u>Nicklas: ja: du hoster mig LIGE ind i hovedet, det' ret ulækkert</u> <u>//Tobias ha:r//</u>	<i>you're coughing right into my face that's pretty disgusting</i> <u>Nicklas: Tobias have ...</u> <i>Vincent: xxx pirate ship !</i>
	<u>Nicklas: Torben har du fortalt om den der sådanne – den der film der med skatteplaneten ?</u> <u>da kunne I lege det jo ?</u>	<i>Torben have you told about this kind of this movie with the treasure planet ? then you could play that couldn't you ?</i>
	åh nej ! jeg glemte min chokolade derinde på toilettet !	<i>oh no ! I forgot my chocolate in the restroom !</i>
SISR(N)	<u>Nicklas: { skal jeg } &lt;burps&gt; skal jeg nok hente den</u>	<i>I'll get it</i>
	//<laughs>//	
	//skal jeg hente den// <3>	<i>I'll get it</i>
	nu skal jeg styre ! giv styr !	<i>now I'll steer ! give the wheel !</i>
	ja	<i>yes</i>
	nu skal jeg hoppe i vandet	<i>now I'll jump in the water</i>
15:30	lad den krukke – nej ! så skal jeg jo også ! du styrer, jeg hopper i vandet. -	<i>let that pot - no ! I must also then - you steer I jump in the water</i>
SISR(T)	{ vi ned' } - vi er nede i en snesto:rm ! <3> pf:t !	<i>we're down – we're down in a snowstorm ! 'pft' !</i>

	vi kører ind i et bjerg ! oh ja [□]φA]	<i>we're driving into a mountain ! oh yes</i>
	hmhm ! oh ja. [□]φA]	<i>'hm' ! oh yes.</i>
	oh jeg har fået chokoladegris hm:!	<i>oh I got a chocolate pig 'hm' !</i>
	se ! nu falder dynet ned ! <12>	<i>look ! the duvet is falling down now !</i>
16:00	<screams excitedly>	
	skal vi lave et puslespil ? <55>	<i>shall we do a puzzle ?</i>
	...	
16:30	<moans and walks around>	
17:00	<babbles>	
	hov ? <10>	<i>'oops' ?</i>
	xxx falder på, xxx <4>	<i>xxx falls on, xxx</i>
SISR(T) 17:30	jeg spurgte om jeg må låne {din} – din ving altså. hvis sørøverskibet skal fly:ve - over - *de andre skib <4>	
	<i>I was asking if I can borrow your wing, actually. if the pirate ship is to fly over – the other ships</i>	
	<sound of wheel turning>	



18:00	<p>det må vi gerne, hvad ? – ne ne, ellers kan min flyvemaskine ikke flyve mere &lt;4&gt; xxx og så styrer jeg'n jo ud med fuld fart &lt;4&gt; for så kan jeg jo ikke flyve når jeg lander, xxx fly/ve &lt;3&gt; eu:h ! &lt;3&gt;</p> <p>//må jeg låne din xxx ?//</p>	<p><i>that we can, can't we ? – no no, otherwise my plane can't fly anymore ... and then I steer it out full speed because then I can't fly when I land. xxx fly - 'euh' !</i></p> <p>Vincent: <i>can I borrow your xxx ?</i> Torben: <i>'ewew' !</i></p>
18:30	<p>xxx må jeg låne den bagved dig ? xxx tak !</p> <p>skal jeg lave et puslespil &lt;5&gt;</p> <p>&lt;makes noises&gt;</p> <p>NE::J ! du skal jo STYRE skibet ! no::j ! no::jda ! &lt;4&gt;</p> <p>&lt;walking&gt;</p>	<p>xxx can I have the one behind you ? xxx thanks !</p> <p><i>shall I lay a puzzle</i></p> <p><i>no ! you have to steer the ship ! 'no' ! 'no' !</i></p>
19:00	<p>eh der' kun en edderkop. det gælder jo ikke. der' flere edderkop. der var den.  </p> <p>  edderkop edderkop edderkop</p>	<p><i>there's only a spider. that doesn't count. there's more spiders. there it is.</i></p> <p><i>spider spider spider</i></p>
SISR(T) 19:30	<p>jeg skal altså – um det gælder - at xxx rigtig så man har en edderkop hver,</p>	<p><i>well I must - 'um' we must xxx right so we have a spider each</i></p>

//edderkop !//

//jeg tager// edderkoppen, nej den starter ikke der, jeg skal lave den, den skal være blå eller rød eller gul <3>

Vincent: *spider !*

Torben: *I'll take the spider, no it doesn't start there, I'll do it, it has to be blue or red or yellow*

det' e:dderko:p !

*that's a spider !*

SISR(T)

jeg skal være, um jeg skal være jeg skal være blå, der skal være alle blåene/ der skal være alle blå, man skal have alle blåene/

*I'll be, ehm I'll be I'll be blue, all the blues must go there there all the blue must be, you must have all the blues*

og jeg skal være/ rød.

*and I shall be red*

SISR(T)

ja du skal være alle runde. {jeg} jeg tager alle \*blåene

*yes you get all the round ones. I'll take all the blues*

20:00      xxx

hmhm: jamen hmhm der er flere <6>

*'hmhm' xxx there are more ...*

JOda.

*yes*

j- her der er flere ! <3>

*there's more here !*

ne:j/

*no*

jo ! -

*yes*

men

*but*

SISR(T) 20:30	hm ? DU skal være RØD jo ! {jeg skal} du skal have alle *rø:dene ! jeg skal være blå nu her skal stå - nej ! ikke endnu ! det' først mig ! jeg s: jeg skal stå på blå.	<i>hm ? you'll be red I'll have you'll have all the reds ! I'll be blue here there'll be xxx no ! not yet ! it's me first ! I'll s, I'll stand on blue</i>
	blå blå blå/ !	<i>blue blue blue !</i>
21:00	man må ikke få TO *edderkop. der skal være EN hver. jeg skal ikke have to. he ! har du nogen edderkop ? du har en der, nu skal jeg. he:j, flyt den (tiger) [ʊτɪ]↔ så jeg kan få plads - også de her <13>	<i>you can't get two spiders there has to be one for each. I don't want two. hey ! do you have any spiders ? you have one there now it's me. hey, move that(tiger) so there's room for me - these here too</i>
	det' ikke sådan et spil som Jo/nas <sup>33</sup> -	<i>it's not a game like Jonas</i>
SISR(T) 21:30	{jeg s-} jeg starter - se om jeg får en sol eller en regn, regn det' skyder man edderkoppen ud. se om jeg får en sol <3> ja sol ! det' din tur til at have en terning.	<i>I'll start see if I get a sun or a rain rain there we'll shoot the spider out. see if I get a sun ... yes sun ! it's your turn to get a dice.</i>
	jamen jeg har en/ xxx	<i>yes but I have one xxx</i>
SISR(T)	jamen {du har, sku' have} slå terning	<i>yes but you have, should have, throw the dice</i>
	jojo	<i>yeahyeah</i>
	nej ! du skal først – tag den op - den skal være RØD !	<i>no ! you must first - take it up it has to be red !</i>

---

<sup>33</sup> friend from nursery school

SISR(T) 22:00	og jeg glemte noget	{du skal// have} du skal være RØD ! skal du også have den ! <5>	Vincent: <i>and I forgot something</i> Torben: <i>you have to be red ! you also have to have it !</i>
		<sings>	
	nej det var (N <b>voc.</b> ) <b>feil</b> nej.		<i>no it's wrong no</i>
		<sings Hercules <sup>34</sup> >	
	lalalalalalala		<i>'lalalalalalala'</i>
		lalalalala	<i>'lalalalala'</i>
22:30	tralala.		<i>'tralala'</i>
		tralala	<i>'tralala'</i>
SISR(T)		<singing: jeg tager alle de røde, og passer på at du: - så skal du ikke laver ikke xxx> nu har du ikke flere din tur til at slå solen	<i>I'll take all the red ones and see to it that you so you won't are doing xxx now you don't have more your turn to throw the sun</i>
	<dice rolling>		
		en sol ( <b>EN voc., pron.</b> ) <b>yeah !</b>	<i>a sun yeah !</i>
23:00	hui jah !		<i>'hui jah' !</i>
		og så din tur. ja ! en sol !	<i>and then – your turn. yes ! a sun !</i>
	//hui// [ʋɪ]	//hui//	<i>'hui'</i>

---

<sup>34</sup> from the Disney movie “Hercules”

	nu har jeg (solskrid) <dice rolling> -	<i>now I have xxx</i>
en sol !//	//de'n sol jeh !	Vincent: <i>a sun !</i> Torben: <i>it's a sun, yeah</i>
hui ! <4>		<i>'hui' !</i>
en regn !		<i>a rain !</i>
	må du starte igen. <5>	<i>you'll have to start again. ...</i>
	en SOL !	<i>a sun !</i>
hui !		<i>'hui' !</i>
23:30 SISR(T)	ved du hvad ? når man når man har slået to skridt {så sku' man} så må man gå helt herudtil. <dice rolling> <2> nej, nej du kan ikke slå igen	<i>you know what ? when you've thrown to steps {then you should go} then you must go all the way here. no, no you can't throw again</i>
	ja ! sol !	<i>yes ! sun !</i>
SISR(T) SISR(T)	tuptuptup tup du må selv bestemme{hvor meget} hvor langt *man vil gå. nej {når man} når man slår en sol til så må man gå så langt der. ligesom at du slår en regnbue. så falder du ned og så må du gøre det igen så må du gå SÅ langt her. <3> /lissom mig/	<i>'tuptuptup tup' you have to decide yourself how much how long you wants to go. no if you throw a sun again then you must go that far. just like when you throw a rainbow. then you fall down and then you must do it again then you must go this far... just like me</i>
24:00		
xxx		

SISR(T)		nej, der. <sniggers> der. din tur igen {fordi jeg} fordi jeg fik nærmeste skridt 'di jeg jeg faldt ned i regnen <2>	<i>no, there, your turn again because I got the nearest step because I fell down in the rain</i>
	<dice rolling>		
24:30		en sol johoe: ! - <laughs> min tur igen for jeg xxxx <laughs> EDDERkopskridt ! jeg er på min sol, nej, jeg er på mit sol der.	<i>a sun 'johoe' ! my turn again because I xxx spiderstep ! I'm on my sun, no, I'm on my sun there</i>
	<laughs>		
		jeg vandt jeg vandt ! ... nej - jo sådan gælder det, og når man slår en regn en regn, så må man gå så langt der. så må man slå igen, så må man - ohoh ! så er det *deres andre de er andre - se *så fik en sol !	<i>I won I won ! no – yes that's how it goes, and when you throw a rain a rain you can go as far as there. then you must throw again then you must – ohoh ! then it's their others, they are others – look you got a sun !</i>
25:00	hui !		<i>'hui'</i>
		nej ! oh sol ! nu er *næsten fremme. johoe ! min tur <2>	<i>no ! oh sun ! now you're almost there. johoe' ! my turn</i>
	<dice rolling>		
		yeah sol !	<i>yeah sun !</i>
	hui !		<i>'hui' !</i>
		din tur en sol ! jeg er næsten fremme også du <2>	<i>your turn a sun ! I'm almost there you too</i>

	<dice rolling>	
	en sol !	<i>a sun !</i>
	hui !	<i>'hui' !</i>
25:30	min tur	<i>my turn</i>
	ja <3>	<i>yes</i>
SISR(T)	nah - joe ! jeg har vundet/ når man slår en regnbue, så skal man skriv- starte igen xxx <2>	
	<i>'nah' – yes ! I won when you hit a rainbow, you have to start again xxx</i>	
	<dice rolling>	
	//hui !//	Torben: <i>a sun ! yeah !</i> Vincent: <i>'hui' !</i>
	//xxx !//	
	hov ? <4>	<i>huh ?</i>
26:00	yeah ! jeg va:ndt ! jeg vandt ! du må slå igen <2>	<i>yeah ! I won ! I won ! you must throw again</i>
	<dice rolling>	
	du fik en sol ! ja !	<i>you got a sun ! yes !</i>

	wa jah !		'wa jah ' !
SISR(T)	//xxx//	//xxx// fordi - solen der, <3> og {nu må jeg kra'}	<i>xxx because – the sun there and now you now</i>
SISR(T)		nu må jeg {kravle frem} - kravle frem <3>	<i>you have to crawl out - crawl out</i>
OISR(V)	kravle frem ?		<i>crawl out ?</i>
f		hey ! hey !	<i>hey ! hey !</i>
OISR(V)	hey ?		<i>hey ?</i>
f		nej ! uhm, hvad er det nu du hedder ?	<i>no ! 'uhm' what did you say your name was ?</i>
SISR(T)		VINcent ! hey Vincent/	<i>Vincent ! hey Vincent</i>
	hey ! he:j hej: Torben		<i>hey ! hey hey Torben</i>
26:30		hejejejejeje ! du må selv bestemme eller ej	<i>'hejejejejeje' ! you may decide yourself or not</i>
	tatatudidi:da		<i>'tatatudidida'</i>
		nu er der endnu flere ! hejhej ! hello: er der nogen ?	<i>now there's even more ! heyhey ! hello is there anybody ?</i>
	//hallo: ?//	//nej//	Vincent: <i>hello ?</i> Torben: <i>no</i>
		god ide, de hilser på hinanden og DE hilser på hinanden <3>	<i>good idea, they're greeting each other and they are greeting each other</i>
	skal vi: skal vi have nogen andre nu ?		<i>shall we shall we have some others now ?</i>



OISR(T)  
27:00

vil du have de røde og jeg skal  
tage de ehm - gule ? -

hvad ?

*what ?*

*do you want the red ones and I will take the  
'ehm' yellow ?*

nej vi skal ikke spille den der

*no we won't play that*

//OK !//

//wowoe: !//

Vincent: *OK !*

Torben: *'wowoe' !*

nu må jeg slå igen så jeg håber jeg får en  
sol  
doedoe: ! nu har jeg vundet i midten !  
hihi: ! jeg har vundet i midten !

*now I can play again so I hope I get a sun  
'doedoe' ! now I've won in the middle ! 'hihi' !  
I've won in the middle !*

jamen skal vi ikke //rydde op//

//xxx au:w//

Vincent: *yes but shan't we clean up*

Torben: *xxx ouch*

27:30

auw det gjorde ondt ! auw auw auw auw  
allesammen ovenpå mig mie: ! wehe: !  
det er det xxx det' det' sny:d ! jeg – det er  
rigtig snyd ! <4> hvad ? nej !

*ouch that hurt ! ouch ouch ouch ouch all on top  
of me 'mie' ! 'wehe' ! it is xxx it's cheating ! I –  
that's really cheating ! what ? no !*

skal vi ikke spille ? vil du ikke  
vil du spille ?

*shan't we play ? don't you want to do you want  
to play ?*

min familie skal nok angribe jer jajajaja.  
ja:h ! <26>

*my family will attack you yesyesyesyes yes !*

<sputters and shouts>

28:00		xxx jeg skal tage alle de hvide nej ! det' min jeg skal tage alle de blå og lægge ned jeg skal også sætte terninger på alt fordi oeblië jeg skal – fordi jeg har vundet/ fordi jeg har vundet *de sidste regnbue jeg har vundet xxx xxx <4> nu har jeg vundet en regnbue som laver REGN hello: hahaha: ! xxx <32>	<i>xxx I shall take all the white ones no ! it's mine I'll take all the blue ones and lay them down I also want all the dice because 'oeblië' I shall ... xxx because I won the last rainbow I've won a rainbow that makes rain 'lo' hahaha ! xxx</i>
28:30			
29:00		<shuffling around, singing Hercules>	
	<starts singing Norwegian children's song> <sup>35</sup>		
		<sings on>	
29:30		Hercules han er rigtig stærk/ Hercules han er stærkere end Supermand, hej ! det gælder – den hvide den skal sky:de i vejen <3> ehm nej ! skal se hvor hvor mange der mangler, ved du hvad, der mangler EN til - fem kun femmeren sådan, hej ! der ER jo sekseren ! <6>	<i>Hercules is really strong Hercules he's stronger than Superman, hey ! the thing is to - that white one has tot shoot away 'ehm' no ! let's see how how many one more is missing, you know what there's one more missing - five only the five like that, hey ! there is the six !</i>
30:00	der er nulleren - der er en til		<i>there's the zero - there's another one</i>
	SISR(T)	{ hvor } hvor er nulleren ?	<i>where's the zero ?</i>
	der er en til		<i>there's another one</i>
	<mumbles>		

---

<sup>35</sup> Alle Fugle Små De Er

	nej det' ikke nul det' fire	<i>no that's not zero that's four</i>
	ja ...	<i>yes ...</i>
SISR(T)	{hvad for en er} hvad for en er d' hvad for en er det det der det' eneren	<i>which one is which one is which one is that's the one</i>
	//<protests>//	<i>no no no no no</i>
	//ja ja//	Torben: <i>what ? that's the zero</i> Vincent: <i>yes yes</i>
30:30	euh jeg sku' lige - hjælp' – euh – nu:l e:n euhm <4> to – tre –	<i>'euh' I was just – help – 'euh' – zero one 'euhm' ... two three</i>
	nej !	<i>no !</i>
	fire <shouts> hva' ?	<i>four what ?</i>
	nej. u:h nul – en – to- tre	<i>no 'uh' zero one two three</i>
31:00	<shouts> hej du ! sådan er det ik' to – tre - fi:re hej, hvor er den ? <5>	<i>hey you ! that's not how it is two – three - four hey where is it ?</i>
	ik' noget der – ik' noget der <5> ik' noget der <3> <sup>36</sup>	<i>nothing there – nothing there – nothing there</i>
	<shuffling around>	

---

<sup>36</sup> Enumerates

31:30	nej ! det gør jeg <6>  <sighs>  hvor skal hovedet sidde ? <6>  <sighs>  skal ( <b>N gram.</b> ) <b>hovedet hans</b> sidde SÅdan her ? og nu hører du [ʊvo]Δ↔] <5>	<i>no ! I'll do that</i>    <i>where should the head sit ?</i>    <i>should his head be like this ? and now you hear (something)</i>
	ho po //	<i>'ho po'</i>
32:00	//hallo *jeg er mit hoved tilbage <6> nu kan jeg sø:  <makes bubbling sound> <sings>	<i>hello I'm my head back now I can xxx</i>
32:30	jeg kan ikke finde den den er *skydt i vejen nej ik' sådan du ! nul, en <4> to <4> tre – fire – hvor' FEMmeren ? <3>  femmeren ?	<i>I can't find it it's (disappeared) no not like that you ! zero one two three four where's the fiver ?</i>  <i>the fiver ?</i>
33:00	og SEKSseren, - hvor' sekseren og femmeren <5> e – nul en to tre fi:re hé: der mangler en femmer jeg er fem år	<i>and the sixer where's the sixer and the fiver e – zero one two three fore hey there's a fiver missing I'm five years old</i>

## Appendix 3: Norwegian transcription

date of recording: 13.03.03  
duration: session total 61 min., 31:30 min. transcribed  
principal interlocutor: Marius, age 5;1. Has an older brother age 11;2 “Best friend” from nursery school, sees Vincent almost every weekday and has done so for the past 1½ year. Born and raised in Drammen, Norway, both parents are Norwegian (mother from the eastern part of Norway, father from the middle of Norway). Marius has a “nice eastern Norwegian accent”<sup>37</sup> and is monolingual in Norwegian.  
other interlocutors: Andy, Vincent’s father.  
other person present: right at the end, Vincent’s mother (who is otherwise not present)  
location: Marius’ mother  
action: living room at Vincent’s home  
watching Norwegian children’s TV  
playing with a puzzle with marine animals  
playing with a plastic toy pirate ship  
playing with a *Monsters Inc.* puzzle  
playing with Vincent’s cat  
Vincent hearing Danish children’s music  
playing with candles, paint and stamps

---

<sup>37</sup> according to unacquainted, non-linguist Norwegians who listened to the recording

	Vincent	Marius/ <u>Andy</u>	translation
00:00	<children's TV is on, showing a story about a bear, a man called Andy and cookies. The boys are imitating and commenting what they hear and see>		
	heh		'heh'
	//we:we::// [øɪ ʅøɪ ʅ]	//we:we::// !	Vincent: 'weewee' ! Marius: 'weewee' !
	nei og så {An} Andy og bjørn ! Andy og bjørn // heh !//		no and then Andy and bear ! Andy and bear heh !
		//hehe !//	'hehe' !
	Andy og bjø::rn ! // hehe//	xxx	Andy and bear ! 'hehe'
00:30	<laughs>	<laughs>	
		da hører vi de:t/	that's what we're hearing then
	ja:h, [øA ʅh]		yes
		xxx tisse promp	xxx peepee fart
	vi hører /ly:den vores/		we are hearing our sound
		jah/	yes
01:00-01:30	det gjør vi,	xxx	we do

<TV plays on, inaudible talking by Vincent and Marius in the background>

01:30 he:h ! n' glem't det var 'n ka:ke/ !

*heh ! he forgot it was a cake !*

kan jeg få vand ?

*can I have water ?*

vi /har og saft

*we have lemonade too*

ja ! kan jeg få saft ?

*yes ! can I have lemonade ?*

OIOR(V //du må si be/ om//  
)f du må si BE/ om

//er det (bra) ?//

Vincent: *you have to say please*  
you have to say please

Marius: *is that OK ?*

be om ?

*please ?*

02:00 ja

*yes*

jamen (det der) ?

*yes but (that) ?*

<Vincent goes over to his father>  
**(DK pron., voc., gram.) Andy kan**  
SISR(V) **Marius be om {en s} et glas med**  
**saftevand ?**

*Andy can Marius have a glass of lemonade*  
*please ?*

Andy: (DK pron.) naturligvis

*but of course*

Marius ok ?

*Marius ok ?*

03:00-  
29:00

<children's speech uninterpretable because of TV noise>

29:00

<Vincent's father gives the boys a puzzle with marine animals to play with>

SISR(V) det er bare å {plu} pu:sle <6>

*it's just a "plu" puz-*

<taps box on the floor>

det er bare et puslespill/ <4>

*it's just a puzzle*

29:30 **(DK voc.) forstår** du ingenting/ det er bare et puslespill/

*don't you understand anything it's just a puzzle*

ja jeg vet/ da ja jeg ser det nå.

*yes I know I can see it now*

ser du/ at dom som /sitter fast, det er /puslespil. og du denne halen ? Det er OG puslespill \*Ser, hè ? xxx

*you see and those which are fastened, that's a puzzle. you, and this tail ? that's a puzzle too. see ?*

OISR(M)  
)

er det den ?

*is that it ?*

nei den er fisken/ **FR (voc., pron.) qui quik !** \*en fugls !

*no that's the fish chirp chirp ! a birdxxx !*

<laughs>

en fisk som sier **FR (voc., pron.) qui quik !** – se nå, den xxx opp i LUFTA den.

*a fish that says chirp chirp ! - look, it's xxx in the air*

30:00

den snakker i vannet. –

*it's talking in the water*

ja. blublublublublu

*yes' blublublublublublu'*

<to his mother: Mamma gå hjem ! - gå: hje:m ! <3>.>

*Mamma go home ! ... go home ! ...*



	o:h		'oh'
		jeg vil at Mamma skal gå hjem og jeg skal overnatte hos deg/	<i>I want Mamma to go home and that I will sleep over at your place</i>
	nei du kan ikke - i morgen [1∪μ□∩{↔}] *for da skal vi rejse/ <4> hvorfor/ hvorfor kom du ikke - ? 		<i>no you can't – tomorrow because we will be leaving then why why didn't you come</i>
		tvi/ tvi !	'twi twi'
SISR(V)	<4> <b>(DK pron.) ja !</b> jeg skal først <b>(DK voc.) pusle</b> – det skal være – ellers kan jeg ikke gjøre NOE som helst/ <21>		<i>... yes ! I will do the puzzle first - it has to be - otherwise I can't do anything</i>
SISR(M) 31:00	nei: - *blekksprut ser ikke <b>(DK gram.) sånn her ut.</b> - de har xxx ser du selv/ se ! ingen blekksprut ! [∪βλΘκ∩σπ{ψ}τ]	er det den blekksprut {sin} - sine armer ?	<i>is that the squid's arms ?</i>
			<i>no – squids don't look like this they have xxx see for yourself look ! no squid !</i>
31:30		så den skal være her da !	<i>so it must be here then !</i>
SISR(V)	ja/ - og derfor så må vi {plu} pusle HER først.		<i>yes – and therefore we must puzzle here first</i>
SISR(M)		og så skal du: - teteretete hei en KRABBE !	<i>and then you must – teteretete hey a crab !</i>
	ja DEN hører til,		<i>yes that one belongs</i>

	xxx, JIP !	yup !
	se (der),	look (there)
SISR(V)	den *høres til/ samme, <in funny voice> - allo/ jeg er en kra:bbe: ! {hvad sier} hvad synes du om han vil	<i>it belongs to the same, hello I'm a crab ! {what do you say} what do you think would he pinch us ? hello I'm a pinching crab</i>
SISR(V)	kli:pe *vos ? <in funny voice> allo jeg er (kli:be) krabbe:/ {kli:me} jeg er kli:be krabbe: !	<i>I'm a pinching crab !</i>
OISR(M) ) 32:00	kli:me ?  ja en klime - en gri:se - jeg bare /tri:ser og /gri:ser, han sier gri:ser ! gnoink gnoink.	<i>'klime' ?  yes a 'klime' - a pig I just 'triser' and make a mess he says make a mess ! 'gnoink gnoink'</i>
	hi !  bare gri:ser og gri:ser, - *ser O::H ! O::H !	<i>'hi' !  just 'griser' and 'griser' look oh ! oh !</i>
32:30	se ! oi::n oi::n !  bwuah ! jeg får det ikke av ! e: ! a:h ! e: ! e: ! tu:t - tut tut tut tut a:h ! tik tik tik tik ! – se nå ! kli:p kli:p i øjet sitt !	<i>look ! 'oin oin' !  'bwuah' ! I can't take it off ! 'e' ! 'ah' ! 'e' ! 'e' ! 'tut' 'tut tut tut tut ah' ! 'tik tik tik tik' ! look now ! pinch pinch in its eye !</i>
33:00	//klip klip//  se ! eu::h: han <b>(DK pron.) kradser</b> hodet sitt, heh ! BARE godt (det ikke	<i>pinch pinch  look ! 'euh' he's scratching his head, 'heh' !</i>

er håret/) der gjør det i hodet sitt/  
AUW euw euw euw euw ! f:t ! det er  
vondt når han gjør sånn ! wo:h DE !  
han har bare overhodet ikke noe hår/,  
og så (sier jeg til) awi::bibibibibi: <in  
singing voice> ka' du (DK) /flytte  
piratbåten ? o:h pititow pititow  
pititow !

so good (it's not the hair) doing it in its head  
ouch 'euw euw euw euw' ! 'ft' ! it hurts  
when he does that! he just has no hair at  
all and then (I say to) 'awibibibibibi' can  
you move the pirate ship ?  
'oh pititow pititow pititow'

33:30 <continues to babble loudly>

du Vincent ? kan denne her piratbåten flyte på ekte ?

*hey, Vincent ? can this pirate ship really float ?*

na:h kanskje /ikke,

*nah maybe not*

$$\text{OISR}(\mathbf{M})f$$

hvaddet, na:h kanskje ikke ? <8> Vincent ?  
denne her kan den lissom kjøre inni vann ?

*what's that nah maybe not ? Vincent ? this  
one can it like drive in water ? that's the  
propellor (on it)*

nei:: !

no !

det' propellen (derpå)

// ne::i: ! nå nå ville den /drukne !  
<4> nu sejler vi av gåre ! ja: //

```
// blublublublublublubu  
blibliblibliblibliblibli bliblibliblibliblibli !  
blublublublublu ! blublublublublu !// |
```

Vincent: *no ! it would drown now ! now  
we're sailing off ! yes*

34:00 | så SEILE, se nå, så seile på \*baden  
ja.

*then sail, look now, then sail on the bath*  
yes

```
//lalala: lalalalala//
```

```
//xxx øyet ?//
```

Vincent: *'lalala lalalala'*  
Marius: *xxx the island ?*

34:30

nei/

*no*

		ikke når du bare xxx ?	<i>not when you just xxx ?</i>
SISR(V)	ja: men vet du hva: ? den øyen skal ligge oppe - he::r ! <b>(DK voc.)</b> <b>forstår</b> du ingen ting eller ? <b>(DK</b> <b>gram.) øyen</b> he:r ! eller <b>(DK gram.)</b> <b>øyen</b> e:r <b>(DK gram.) øyen</b> her - o:ps ! {øyen er} <b>(DK gram.) øyen</b> er faktisk her.		<i>yes but you know what ? that island must  lie at the top, here ! don't you understand  anything or what ?  the island here ! or the island 'er' the  island here – oops ! {the island is} the  island is actually here</i>
	//vet du// hvad man gjør ? <b>(DK</b> <b>pron.) hvad</b> man <loud noise> xxx gjør ? – AH skal jeg si dig, det er hju:l !	ja, men Vincent den skal bare //xxx//	<i>but Vincent it is only to xxx</i>  <i>you know what to do ? what one xxx does ?  Ah ! I'll tell you, those are wheels !</i>
35:00	ja/	okej, så den kan /kjøre ?	<i>ok, so it can ride ?</i>
	ja. hvis du tar alle lekene ut så kan den flyte, så er den ikke så tung.	og ikke flyte. se det er den for tung til.	<i>yes if you take all the toys out then it can  float then it's not so heavy.</i>
	//skal vi prøve ?//	//og kan vi// bare ha én ting i båten ? synker den da ?	Vincent: <i>shall we try ?</i> Marius: <i>and can we have only one thing in  the boat ? does it sink then</i>
SISR(V)	hm: - ne:j, de:t - det fungerer å seile, ingenting oppi de:r/ –		<i>hm – no, it can float, nothing in it there -</i>

OISR(M )	hè ?	<i>huh ?</i>
vi må ta alle xxx. LUK alle <b>*(DK gram.) døren</b> OG IKKE flyte med den. så <b>(DK pron.) *NU</b> kan flyte på vann. <sings> *u:: wohoj, xxx <sup>38</sup>		<i>we must take all xxx close all the doors and don't float it. so now can float on water. 'u' 'wohøj'</i>
	xxx, hu !	<i>xxx, hu !</i>
//xxx//	//snart er banken vår !//	<i>soon the bank will be ours !</i>
SISR(V) 36:00	//{ska} ska vi ta alle pirater ! //	Vincent: <i>shall we take all the pirates ! then ('for gi dem') !</i> Marius: <i>the bank ?</i>
(da for gi dem) ! a::h, <4> se nå ska vi gjøre noe xxx de sitter fast i ? <3>		<i>(for give them !) 'ah', see now we'll do something xxx they are stuck in ?</i>
	Vincent, (se på krabben) !	<i>Vincent, look at the crab !</i>
//a:h, nå sitter den fast ! ah i hej ! i: hvor oh !		<i>ah, now it's stuck ! 'ah i hej' ! 'i' where oh !</i>
//i::h !//	//din gamle stanke sti:nk !//	Vincent: <i>'ih' !</i> Marius: <i>you old stinky stink !</i>
36:30	<singing voice> ih wohoj !	<i>'ih wohoj !'</i>
	<singing voice, continues Vincent's tune>	<i>soon the stink will be ours ! 'hehe' !</i>

<sup>38</sup> reference to phrase in song from Norwegian children's story "Kaptein Sabeltann" (lit: *Captain Sabletooth*): Hiv ohøj ! Snart er skatten vår ! (*Hey ho ! Soon the treasure will be ours !*)

snart er stinken vår ! hehe ! -

<continues to sing for himself,  
finishes with:>

//jeg kom på en øy, jeg kom på en  
ø::rø//

//<starts singing incomprehensibly>//

*I came on an island, I came on an 'ørø'*

<continuing Vincent's tune> jeg kommer  
på en støy, jeg kommer på en støy:

*I'm coming on a noise, I'm coming on a  
noise*

37:00

<continues to sing> **(DK pron.) se  
nu tar den træet. vi \*vedder ikke  
hva de har {af fest}, hva kronen  
sitter fast i – nah ! nah ! uh, nej nu  
får vi træer !**

*look it takes the tree now we don't know  
(what (fest) they have) what the crown is  
attached onto - 'nah ! nah !' uh no now we  
are getting trees*

<laughs: hm hm !>

og nu får vi tat i træer !

*and now we are getting hold of trees !*

xxx

jha ! xxx !

*yes ! xxx !*

<laughs: jha !>

*yes !*

SISR(V)  
37:30

det' dumme træer ! må vi have {et} et  
træ i piratbåten ! hè, se på **(DK  
pron.) træet !**

*(those are dumb trees !) must we have a  
tree in the pirate ship ! huh, look at the  
tree !*

<laughs> er der sjø:hest i piratbåten ? hehe  
! <3>  
gøy/ sjøhest i piratbåten/ !

*is there a seahorse in the pirate ship ?  
funny a seahorse in the pirate vessel !*

//<laughs> z z z: !//

//<laughs> hehehe !//

SISR(V) {er det/} er det (**DK pron.**) heste  
som er nede i (**DK pron.**) søen ?

*is that horses that are down in the sea ?*

OIOR(M  
)

SJØHEST er dette her ! <4> men – på:  
denne her  
så VIs er den hvilken som kan dreie rundt  
og rundt,

*seahorse this is ! ... and on this one it  
shows which one can turn around and  
around,*

OISR(V) hva for noe da ?  
f  
38:00

*what then ?*

han - viser hva som kan dreie rundt og  
rundt/ den kan dreie rundt og rundt/ <sup>39</sup>den  
kan dreie rundt og rundt/, det kan den/ og  
det kan den også.

*he shows what can turn around and  
around this one can turn around and  
around this one can turn around and  
around that one can and that one can too*

ja nei den /viser ikke

*yes no it doesn't show*

joho !

*oh yes !*

nei/ !

*no !*

jo !

*yes !*

nei ! for da jeg var beibi så viste jeg  
med EN gang,

*no ! because when I was a baby I knew  
straight away*

uten å se på den ?

*without looking at it ?*

ja/ [φα]

*yes*

		hvorfor det ?	<i>why ?</i>
38:30	fordi jeg viste ikke <b>(DK pron.) hvad</b> de striper betydde/ og så viste jeg med én gang/ -		<i>because I didn't know what those lines meant and then I knew straight away</i>
OISR(M )		gam ?	<i>'gam' ?</i>
	jamen/ - GANGE. [φαυμEv υγατNηO]		<i>but, times</i>
OIOR(M )		jeg synes du sa GRANG,	<i>I thought you said 'grang'</i>
	nei !		<i>no !</i>
39:00		grang ! stang ! <8> BrandStang ! Vincent/ hør her, sta:ng ! <3> Vincent/ du må ikke tre i piratbåten/	<i>'grang' ! bar ! fire bar ! Vincent listen, bar ! Vincent you mustn't step on the pirate ship</i>
OIOR(V )	piwa:t – piwa:t <3> piwat/båden, [πιωAτηβδv]		<i>pirate ... pirate ship</i>
OIOR(M )		pirat. pi:ra:t,	<i>pirate. pirate,</i>
OIOR(V )	piwat/båden, [πιωAτηβδv] <3> på engelsk siger de {på pi}		<i>pirate ship ... ... in English they say pirate</i>
SISR(V)	piRATbåten.[πιυ{Aτηβδv} – piratbåden. [πιυ{Aτηβδv}]		<i>ship - pirate ship</i>
OISR(M )		rav ?	<i>'rav' ?</i>
	nej/ i pira:tbåwden		<i>no pirate ship</i>



39:30	[ $\pi\iota\cup\{A\}\tau\cap\beta\sqcap A\delta\nu$ ]		
OISR(M)		ohja: ! stankbåten.	<i>oh yes ! stink ship</i>
)	nej/ pira:tbåten, - [ $\pi\iota\cup\{A\}\tau\cap\beta\sqcap\delta\nu$ ]		<i>no pirate ship</i>
OISR(M)		ohja nå veit jeg det, /stankbåten ?	<i>oh yes now I know, the stink ship ?</i>
)	//nei !//	//<laughs>//	<i>no !</i>
	<13>		
40:00		<starts singing: tralalalala:: >	
	//se nå ... //	//tralalalala:://	<i>look now</i>
	tralalalala, hai nu har vi bare fået (en) kro:k !		<i>'tralalalala', 'hai' now we only got (a) hook !</i>
		hi !	<i>'hi' !</i>
40:30	jeg har ingenting på kroken for vi har		<i>I haven't got anything on my hook because</i>
SISR(V)	ikke {fistet} fisket NOE som helst !		<i>we haven't fished anything !</i>
	a au: ! hvorfor kommer kroket ned		<i>why did the hook come down again ? oops</i>
	igjen ? oops ! vi glemte noe da til at		<i>! we forgot something to hold on to !</i>
	ha fast i ! <7>		
		sån ! <sings> da går der (meter) PROMP i <sup>40</sup> !	<i>there ! there goes 'meter' fart in !</i>
41:00	//heh !//	//fw::: !//	Vincent: 'heh' ! Marius: 'fw' !

---

<sup>40</sup> reference to “Byggmester Bob” = Bob the Builder, a TV children series.

41:30	<p>&lt;sings&gt; oh nei ! oh ne::i ! se oh nei ! de kan ikke ta med oss ! &lt;5&gt; nu skal vi tage av den, tu:t ! og ta:k ! han var helt svimmel.</p>	<p><i>oh no ! oh no ! look oh no ! they can't come with us ! now we'll take it off, 'tut' ! and thanks ! he was all dizzy.</i></p>
	<p>Vincent jeg skal pusle dette puslespillet ? – aleine ?</p>	<p><i>xxx will lay this puzzle ? - alone ?</i></p>
	<p>aleine. xxx &lt;to Andy: <b>(DK pron.)</b> <b>A:ndy/ - Andy jeg vil have *en</b> <b>anden puslespil&gt;</b></p>	<p><i>alone. xxx - Andy Andy I want another puzzle</i></p>
	<p><u>Andy: <b>(DK pron., voc., gram.) nåh,</b></u> <u><b>hvorfor det ?<sup>41</sup> hvad skal det så være for</b></u> <u><b>et puslespil skal det være –</b></u> <u><b>Monsterbedriften ?</b></u></p>	<p><i>oh, why ? what kind of puzzle should it be then ? should it be – Monsters Inc. ?<sup>42</sup></i></p>
	<p>&lt;to Andy: <b>(DK pron.) ja</b> [φε] &gt;</p>	<p><i>yes</i></p>
	<p><u>Andy: <b>(DK pron.) OK</b> [oʊkθφ]</u></p>	<p><i>OK</i></p>
SISR(V)	<p>Monsterbedriften {så kan så må jeg} *så kan jeg ikke helt sjølv, så må du hjelpe meg.</p>	<p><i>Monsters Inc. {that I can that I must} that I can't do all by myself you must help me there.</i></p>
OISR(M) ) 42:00	<p>ha ?</p> <p>da er (to på) Monsterbedriften- puslespillet, &lt;comes, rattling with puzzle&gt;</p>	<p><i>'ha' ?</i></p> <p><i>'da' (two on) the Monsters Inc. puzzle</i></p>

<sup>41</sup> teases Vincent, who often asks “why”.

<sup>42</sup> puzzle with an image from the Disney movie *Monsters Inc.*

	kan vi pusle dette aleine !	<i>can we lay this alone !</i>
	ja men dette skal man ikke pusle aleine/ dette skal man pusle med a:ndre/	<i>yes but this is not for "puzzling" alone. this one must "puzzle" with others</i>
	hvorfor det ?	<i>why's that ?</i>
SISR(V) 42:30	fordi man {s:} dette er et VANskeligt puslespill/ og hvis du gjør dette puslespillet xxx xxx *derfor er det ikke noe god idé at le- <6>(det er noe andet med xxx) <4> det er noe (med bura) [ $\mu\Theta\cup\beta Y$ ] $\cap$ { $\alpha$ }det er noe med bura.	<i>because this is a difficult puzzle. and if you lay this puzzle xxx xxx therefore it's not a good idea to 'le-' (there's something else with xxx) there's something with 'bura' those are my 'bura'</i>
OISR(M) )	hah ?	<i>huh ?</i>
SISR(V) 43:00	det er mine bura, nana: nana:/ ! ah, denne er morS:om ! hai ! det er en bak deg ! – ser du ? {jeg havde rig-} jeg havde rett der var en bak deg/	<i>those are my 'bura', 'nana nana' ah, this is fun ! 'hai' ! there's someone behind you ! - you see ? {I had rig-} I was right there was one behind you</i>
	hm/ - se, sån ! <5> og så sån ! nå kan jeg hjelpe deg !	<i>hm – look, like that ... and then like that ! now I can help you !</i>
	ja ! - nå ja !	<i>yes ! well yes !</i>
	Vincent ?	<i>Vincent ?</i>
	ja	<i>yes</i>
	xxx ?	

43:30	ja		yes
		sån ! da sitter det hele fast ! skal vi pusle då på denne duken ?	<i>there ! now everything is fastened ! shall we lay the puzzle on this tablecloth then ?</i>
44:00	nei. så pusler vi i vannet ! eller på øyen. men vet du hvad ? først må vi		<i>no. that way we are laying the puzzle in the water ! or on the island. but you know</i>
SISR(V)	ta disse.<4> Marius ? – {vil} vil du hjelpe meg ? <6>		<i>what ? first we must take these - Marius ? - do you want to help me ?</i>
		først skal jeg gå inne på rommet ditt og så finne den annen lille piratbåten/	<i>first I'll go to your room and find the other little pirate ship</i>
	ja: -		yes
		jeg skal lete etter den !	<i>I will look for it !</i>
	ja ! jeg skal gjøre noe morsomt til kattene ! <shakes and throws cat toy with bell> <to Andy> <b>(DK pron., voc.) Andy jeg skal se om noget virker.</b>		<i>yes ! I will do something funny with the cats ! Andy I have to see if something works</i>
		Vincent den gidder ikke og lete.	<i>Vincent it doesn't feel like searching</i>
	<shakes and throws cat toy> se(r) ! den katten Elsker en sån <b>(DK voc.) bold ! –</b>		<i>look ! that cat loves a ball like that !</i>
OISR(M )		Elsker den ballen [ $\cup\beta\alpha\cap\lambda\leftrightarrow v$ ] ?	<i>does it love the ball ?</i>
44:30	ja !		yes !

		hvorfor det ?	<i>why ?</i>
	for der kommer lyder af den.		<i>because it makes noise</i>
OISR(M )		hm ?	<i>hm ?</i>
	der kommer lyder af den. –		<i>it makes noise</i>
		og kommer lyder af (skittern) ?	<i>and does the noise come from the bell ?</i>
45:00	<p>eller af (<b>DK pron., voc.</b>) <b>bolden</b>  [ʊβ□λ↔v]  det' sån som ruller og lager lyder.  først puster man, og så sier den  njenje/njenje ! hører du (<b>DK gram.</b>)  <b>min kat</b> [mi  v κAτ] han (gir) også  klingklingklingkling. ... hvorfor gjør  &lt;10&gt; &lt;throws cat toy&gt; *etter katt !  xxx</p>		<p><i>or from the ball it sort of rolls and makes  noises first you blow and then it says  'njenjenjenje'! you hear my cat he's also  ('gir') 'klingklingklingkling' ... why does ...  after cat !</i></p>
		er det din katt ?	<i>is it your cat ?</i>
	ja det' min ! o::h ! xxx xxx		<i>yes it's mine ! oh !</i>
	i min mamma og min pappas seng, og sover der.		<i>in my mamma and pappa's bed and sleeps there</i>
45:30	<sniggers>	<sniggers>	
	noen gange tar jeg dynen over min katt mens han sover. <15>		<i>sometimes I put the duvet over my cat while he sleeps</i>
46:00	//plays with cat toy and laughs//	//<laughs>// og katten ELSKER den leken	<i>and the cat loves that game !</i>

! <26>

... ..

46:30

OH skal vi spille det ?

*oh shall we play it ?*

nei det er ikke noe spil !

*no it's not a game !*

.

er de:t ? –

*is it ?*

MUSIKK ! (DK pron.) selvfølgelig

*music ! of course*

[σEυφOηλι]

(det gidder jeg ikke)

*I don't feel like that*

o::h/ at - det er morsomt med

*oh – it's fun 'papegøye fra Amerika' !<sup>43</sup>*

Papegøye fra Amerika

[∩πAπ↔∪γOφ↔φ{A

A∪μE]{ι∩κA}]!

OISR(M

)

som e:h - computer momeby ?

*like eh – computer'momeby'<sup>44</sup>*

47:00

nei ikke helt. for se der (det)

*no not quite, because look there (that)*

musikken/ - {el} der er ikke bare

*music - that's not just 'kardemommeby'*

kardelomommeby/

OISR(M

)

kardelommeby:/ - kardelo:mme ! – er det

*'kardelommeby' 'kardelomme' ! - is there*

lomme i bommeby ? er der lomme i

*'lomme' in 'bomme'town ? is there*

kardemommeby/ eller ?

*'lomme' in 'kardemommeby' or ?*

SISR(V) nei det er ikke {karde}

*no that's not 'kardelommeby'*

<sup>43</sup> Danish/Norwegian children's song. litt. translation: *Parrot from America*. Vincent has this song in the Danish version.

<sup>44</sup> allusion to Danish/Norwegian children's story *Folk og Røvere i Kardemommeby*, litt.: *People and Robbers in Cardamom town*

	kardelommeby/		
OISR(M)	kardeLOM:meby ?		<i>'kardelommeby' ?</i>
)			
	det heter kardelommeby. ...		<i>it's called 'kardelommeby' ...</i>
47:30	karde - lomme lommeby		<i>'karde – lomme lommeby'</i>
	kardeSOMmeby/		<i>'kardesommeby'</i>
OISR(M)	SOMme ?		<i>'somme' ?</i>
)			
	ja: SOMme ! – kardeLO:MME: !		<i>yes 'somme' ! - 'kardelomme' !</i>
	ah ! jeg har en lys ide ! vent her litt - vil du bli med meg ?		<i>ah ! I have a good idea ! wait here a bit you want to come with me ?</i>
	ne::i:/		<i>no</i>
	okei !		<i>ok !</i>
	jeg tror det er en overraskelse,		<i>I think it's a surprise</i>
SISR(M)	{derrom} du kan bli med hvis du har lyst !		<i>{if} you can come if you want to !</i>
	nei.		<i>no</i>
48:00	har du ikke lyst ? <5>		<i>you don't want to ?</i>
	<goes over to Andy> Andy ?		<i>Andy ?</i>
	<b><u>Andy: (DK gram., voc., pron.) hvad ville du sige hvis du kunne snakke ?</u></b>		<i>what would you say if you could talk ?</i>

(DK: gram., voc., pron.) kan jeg  
bede om at h re p  Papeg je fra  
Amerika ? [ɔ̃pAπ↔ɔ̃ɣɔ̃I↔φpA  
αɔ̃μEɔ̃pɪɔ̃kA

*can I please hear 'Papeg je fra Amerika'  
?*

Andy: (DK gram., voc., pron.) ja  
naturligvis.  
skal det v re nu da kan du ikke snakke  
med Marius ?

*yes of course. does it have to be now then  
shouldn't you be talking with Marius ?*

ja/ men/ [φαɔ̃μEɔ̃v]

*yes but*

har du n et at snakke med Marius ?

*have you had time to talk to Marius ?*

<Vincent leaves the room and talks to Marius>

48:30

Andy: (DK gram., voc., pron.) jeg skal  
nok s tte den p , Vincent

*don't worry, I'll put it on, Vincent*

49:00

<Andy puts the CD in the player and continues his conversation with Marius's  
mother>

<Vincent and Marius come into the room again, the music has started playing>

<Vincent sings along with the music, in Danish>

50:00

oh ! dette er \*en mannejobb ! dette er et  
mannejobb faktisk ! g r det bra at  n mann  
gj r det ? <12>

*oh ! this is a (man's job) ! this is a man's  
job actually ! is it ok if one man does it ?*

50:30

<sings along with the CD, in



Danish>

kom ! <5> Vincent ? er det greit at jeg tar  
én ?

*come ! ... Vincent ? is it alright if I take  
one ?*

ja. [φα] <5>

*yes ...*

(vil du) at jeg kunne tale (og så har jeg  
ikke lyst) ?  
xxx at jeg kunne tale hvis jeg hadde lyst ?

*(do you want) that I could talk (and then I  
don't feel like it ?) xxx that I could speak if  
I felt like it ?*

<continues to sing along, babbling>  
xxx

51:00 (DK pron.) nu skal jeg xxx man må  
ha et stearinlys/ <13>

*now I shall xxx you need a candle ...*

SISR(M)

vil du male på stemplet sån at du - du kan  
stemple ?

*do you want to paint on the stamp so you  
can stamp ?*

<to father> Andy ?

*Andy ?*

Andy: Vincent ?

*Vincent ?*

51:30 (DK pron., voc., gram.) kan du  
skrive mit navn på med stearinlys  
så jeg kan //male// så jeg kan male  
så får jeg mit navn

Andy: (DK pron.) //kan jeg godt// gøre  
det kan jeg godt.

Vincent: *can you write my name with  
candle so I can paint and get my name ?*  
Andy: *I can do that I can*

<Andy proceeds to write Vincent's name on a sheet of paper with a candle, while  
continuing his conversation with Marius's mother>

xxx

nei du kan ikke (**DK pron.\*\*) børste !**  
 SISR(V) - man må male ! – {så} - så får man  
 52:00 (**DK pron., voc.\*\*) \*(uren) sitt !** hvis  
 SISR(V) man bare tegner strek så \*blir bare en  
 strek. – {og det} - og det har jeg lært  
 SISR(V) på barne-tv. <4>. jeg skriver navnet  
 \*min {med} - med stearinlys.

*no you can't brush ! you have to paint !  
 {that way} that way you get your watch ! if  
 you only draw lines  
 you only get lines {and that} and that I  
 learned on children TV. I'm writing my  
 name {with} with a candle*

Jonas<sup>45</sup> han tørrer mye opp og så - og så  
 BØRSTER han lidt. xxx –

*Jonas he wipes a lot off and then – and  
 then he brushes a bit xxx*

ja ! \*så skal jeg - uhm (**DK pron.\*\*) maling** [ʊmθɔ̃λɪN]

*yes ! then I shall – uhm paint (subst.)*

52:30 //<Vincent's father tells Vincent he  
 OIOR(M) can colour with felt pens, Vincent  
 ) protests>//  
 SISR(M)  
 SISR(M)

//Andy ? Vincent, eh hvad var det Vincent  
 spurgte om ?// skal vi male denne ? <4>  
 skal vi male den så at vi kan {tage et stem-  
 } så vi kan tage stempel ? - så at du vet at  
 det er ditt ? – så hvis du mister den så kan  
 du {xxx} xxx så at du vet at det er ditt ?

Marius: *Andy ? Vincent, eh what was it  
 Vincent was asking about ? shall we paint  
 this one ? shall we paint it so we can {take  
 a stam-} so we can take a stamp ? so that  
 you know that it is yours ? so if you lose it  
 then you can xxx so that you know that it is  
 yours ?*

53:00 ne:i/ ! for det er ikke jeg som ved at  
 det er min, for jeg vet hele tiden at  
 det er min unna mitt navn. om vi  
 mister den, så //så//

//og mitt// navnet da ? da er det vist da, jeg  
 skal ha- et stempel.

Vincent: *no ! because I xxx because I know  
 all the time that it is mine without my name  
 if we lose it then then*  
 Marius: *and my name then ? it is for sure  
 then I must have a stamp*

SISR(V) jamen - atte: - {nu} du kan ikke tage  
 min hjem ! min mamma kan sige fra  
 ! <mumbles> det virker ALDRIG

*yes but – you can not take mine home ! my  
 mamma can tell you ! it is never going to  
 work with felt pen*

<sup>45</sup> friend from nursery school

med tusj. <sings along with the music> så skal jeg tage DEN og så male/ - så skal jeg den, og så male. okei ?

*then I'll take that one and then paint then I'll that one and then paint ok ?*

//<sings along again getting boisterous>//  
ehm - hm:.

//Vincent har du hvitt farge ?//

*Vincent do you have white colour ?*

*'ehm – hm'*

<Andy comes in with lemonade>

Andy: **(DK pron.) værsgod !**

*there you are*

<to Andy> **(DK pron.) tak ...**

*thank you*

54:00

skal vi male på stempelet så at vi kan få stempelet også ?

*shall we paint onto the stamp so we can have the stamp too ?*

nei. – det er bare med maling [ʊμA∩λɪN]. <15>. så nå skal jeg male.

<Andy talks to Marius' mother in the background>

*no - it's only with paint ... so now I'm going to paint*

<asks Vincent's father for another brush, so he can put paint on the stamp>  
du Andy ?

Andy: **(DK pron.) ja**

Marius: *hey Andy ?*

Andy: *yes*

SISR(V)

er det – er det en til pensel her ?

Andy: **(DK pron., voc.) skal prøve at finde den**

Marius: *is there another brush here ?*

Andy: *I'll try to find it*

<Andy continues to talk with Marius's mother>

		jamen jeg skal bare male på stemplet og så får Vincent stempel	<i>yes but I'll just paint on the stamp and then Vincent gets the stamp</i>
54:30	jah men det' nesten bare mitt navn ! ser du ? det' nesten blitt til mitt navn ! mitt ENESTE navn.		<i>yes but that's almost just my name ! you see ? it's almost become my name ! my only name</i>
55:00	<sings along with the music again>  <commenting on the next song, which is about two cats> det er noe med de to små ( <b>DK voc.</b> ) *katter som...	<sings along too>	<i>it's something with the two small cats that...</i>
55:30	<sings along>  se det virker !		<i>look it's working</i>
OISR(M) )	det virker, mitt navn ! ...	hva ?	<i>what ?</i>  <i>it's working, my name !</i>
		da skal du male over HELE arket !	<i>then you'll have to paint over the entire page !</i>
	- ikke HELE arket !		<i>... not the entire page !</i>
		hvoffor det ?	<i>why ?</i>
56:00	fordi så kan jeg ikke få se ( <b>DK gram.</b> ) mit navn !		<i>because then I can't see my name</i>
SISR(M)		men {hvis jeg skriver} hvis du maler på	<i>but {if I write} if you paint on the entire</i>

	<p>hele arket bortom der, xxx arket, xxx, får du fram navnet ditt/. –</p>	<p><i>page over there xxx page your name appears. -</i></p>
	<p>jeg tror jeg tar på en masse vann. så kommer vann. jeg tror det va.r - hvit maling. som er -det blander med –</p>	<p><i>I think I will put a lot of water on it, then the water comes I think it's white paint which is mixing with xxx</i></p>
<p>OISR(M ) 56:30</p>	<p>rosa blander me:d, rød ?</p>	<p><i>pink mixes with red ?</i></p>
	<p>ja.</p>	<p><i>yes</i></p>
	<p>det ble lidt rart. -</p>	<p><i>that turned out a bit strange,</i></p>
	<p>hei Marius &lt;sings along with CD&gt; du skal ikke male. &lt;continues to sing along&gt; så nå skal vi male. &lt;laughs&gt;</p>	<p><i>hey Marius you shouldn't paint. so now we're going to paint.</i></p>
	<p>xxx</p>	
	<p>se hvad det blir ! - se hvad det *bli [βλɪ] - MØ:::RKERØD !</p>	<p><i>look what it's turning into ! look what it's turning into – dark red !</i></p>
<p>57:00</p>	<p>da så, Vincent ? det skal gi resten plass ? nå at du veit at også var din ? &lt;3&gt; der er resten xxx. &lt;4&gt;</p>	<p><i>xxx Vincent ? it will make room for the rest ? now that you know that xxx was yours too ? ... there's the rest xxx</i></p>
	<p>//makes boisterous noises//</p>	
	<p>//hvilke farger vil du ha ditt stempel da ? hvilke farge vil du ha ditt stempel ?//</p>	<p><i>which colours do you want your stamp then ? which colour do you want your stamp ?</i></p>
	<p>men du Vincent,</p>	<p><i>but Vincent, what kind of colours do you</i></p>

		hva slags farger vil du ha på *stempelen ? -	<i>want on the stamp ?</i>
	ma:w ! hehe !		<i>'maw' ! 'hehe' !</i>
SISR(M)		Vincent, hva slags farge vil du have på stempelet ? <3> hva slags {far} farge vil du have på stempelet ?	<i>Vincent what kind of colour do you want on the stamp ? what kind of colour do you want on the stamp ?</i>
SISR(V)	jammen {man skal} man skal ikke male på stempelet. man skal bare male på papir/. man skal ikke bare male på stempelet xxx stempel.		<i>but {you must} you shouldn't paint on the stamp you should only paint on paper you shouldn't just paint on the stamp xxx stamp</i>
		men du Vincent ? du sa at man må male på stempelet først/	<i>but Vincent ? you said that one should paint on the stamp first</i>
58:00	ne::i:: !		<i>no !</i>
		jo !	<i>yes !</i>
SISR(V) 58:30	nei jeg sa det ikke ! xxx skal vi ta et - ehm – skal vi ta {et} et (marke) på deg og meg ? det blir morsomt. så må vi se her *så må vi trenge den/ og *trenger den/ xxx		<i>no I didn't say that ! shall we take a – ehm - shall we take a 'marke' on you and me ? that will be fun. then we must look here then we must 'trenge den' and 'trenger den' xxx</i>
		skal vi ta stempel ?	<i>shall we take stamp ?</i>
	nei der er ikke stempel/ se <b>(DK pron.) nu</b> [vY:] hva vi skal gjøre for vi - to, det er lu:r, det kan være det er veldig lur altså !		<i>no it is not stamp what we'll do for us two, it is smart, that can be really smart !</i>

	hva er det der oppe der da ?	<i>what's that up there then ?</i>
59:00	se ! og så kom den der oppi/ <3> nei det går ikke helt. nå må jeg vaske hender ikke helt, ikke helt !	<i>look ! and then it came up there in ... no it's not quite working out. now I have to wash my hands not quite not quite !</i>
	sån - sån - og sån <3>. a:kkurat.	<i>there – there – and there exactly</i>
59:30	<both children have left the room>	
60:00	så nå skal jeg vise deg hvordan det fungerer. - du tenner på – se (så tar vi <4>x) SE ! sommerfugl ! du får være ( <b>DK pron.) mariehøne</b> [μαυρι↔νηΟνε] !	<i>so now I'll show you how it works ... you light it –look (then xxx take) look ! butterfly ! you can be a ladybird !</i>
	xxx	
	<Vincent's mother enters the room>	
60:30	ja, så får du ( <b>DK pron.) mariehøne</b> ( <b>DK pron.) Mor</b> [moA] se ! <b>Mor</b> <b>*skal vise dig noget</b> [σκΕ πι ]σ δαι voεδ-] <b>mor se !</b>	<i>yes you'll get ladybird. Mom look ! Mom I'll show you something Mom look !</i>

## Appendix 4: French transcription

Date of recording:	18.03.03
Duration:	52 min. conversation, 30 min. transcribed.
Interlocutor:	Vincent's maternal grandmother, who is Frenchspeaking Belgian, and also speaks Dutch and English. She has regular contact with Vincent, almost weekly over the telephone, and approx. four weeks a year during visits. At the time of recording, Vincent has been in her company for five days.
Other interlocutors:	No other person present in the apartment.
Location:	Ski resort apartment in France
Action:	Painting



	Vincent	Grandmother	translation
0:00	g::		'g'
		voi:là. pf:t.	<i>there. 'pfft'</i>
	a:h: !		'aah'
		eh ! non non non c'est moi. moi le chef.	'eh' ! <i>no no no it's me. I'm the boss</i>
	<pretends to whine loudly> oui::n ! <3>		'ouin' !
		ça va.	OK
	si: - oups !		'si' – 'oups' !
		je mets pas toutes les couleurs, hein, parce que je n'en ai plus, moi. xxx	<i>I'm not using all the colours, you know, because I'm running out</i>
	pourquoi ?		why ?
		be:n ! parce que c'est comme ça/ hein, qu'est- ce que tu crois ? <speaking to herself> en les mélangeant ça devrait marcher/	<i>well because that's how it is, you know, what do you think ? by mixing them it should work</i>
	pourquoi il *est sauté *la élastique ? - où est *la élastique ?		<i>why did the rubber band pop ? where is the rubber band ?</i>
SISR(V )	[υΕτ λα ∩ελασ ∪τικ]		<i>did it pop ? it popped 's'</i>
0:30	il a sauté ? - il a sauté s:: <4>		

OISR( G)	il a sauté/ où est-il ?	it popped where is it ?
	il a sauté ! il fait des sottises AH NO:N !	<i>it popped ! it's fooling around oh no !</i>
OISR( G)	il fait des sottises maintenant, l'élastique ?	<i>is the rubber band fooling around now ?</i>
	oui ! ya seulement un élastique [ɔ̃Eɛλαστυκ] – ou est l'autre élastique ? [vEt lot ɛλαστυκ] <3>	<i>yes ! there's only one rubber band where is the other rubber band ?</i>
	<sighs and //mumbles//>	<i>OK my dear friend I'll tell you that you need to be really careful</i>
	oui.	<i>yes</i>
01:00	parce que ce sont des couleurs qui marquent TRÈS TRÈS fort. ce sont des couleurs pour faire des affiches/	<i>because those are colours that are very very strong. those colours are for making posters</i>
	(DK/N/NL pron., voc.) JA ! u: [φα ]	<i>yes ! 'u'</i>
	oui/ (NL pron., voc.) ja ja [φαφα.]	<i>indeed yes yes</i>
	jej hou hi ha ! –	<i>'jej hou hi ha'</i>
	//ouch ! - ouch !//	Grandmother: <i>be careful, huh ! here ! you have your own brushes one two three four five</i> Vincent: <i>ouch ouch'</i>

01:30	tu vas PAS mélanger les couleurs, ça c'est pour faire des tout petits. - tu vas /pas mélanger tes couleurs, tu prends /chaque fois un autre pinceau. - sinon ce seront des laides couleurs que t'auras.	<i>don't mix the colours that's for making really small ones. don't mix your colours take another brush each time otherwise it will be ugly colours you'll get</i>
	hm:/ !	<i>'hm' !</i>
	en avant, tu mets TON PAPIER <5> <sound of paper>	<i>come on put your paper</i>
	<babbles>: jelelelele:	<i>'jelelelele'</i>
	non/ tu mets ton papier parterre, comme il faut. <6>	<i>no, put your paper on the floor, nicely</i>
02:00	pourquoi il fait ça ? t'as vu *qu'est-ce qu'il a fait ?	<i>why does it do that ? did you see what it did ?</i>
	oui tu le mets parterre/ - BIEN plat, -	<i>yes put it on the floor – nice and flat</i>
	oui mais - t'as vu:: ? <sound of paper> <6> mais pourquoi il ROULE ?	<i>yes but – did you see ? but why does it roll ?</i>
02:30	il roule il roule parce qu'il a été roulé avant/ tiens, comment veux-tu le transporter s'il n'est pas roulé ? allez, comme il faut, tiens-le là/ <4> /et on va mettre des papiers collants où est-il le papier collant ?- qu'on a eu hier ? - A:ttends. ben tu sais on va mettre une petite pointe {de:} de colle sinon, où est elle ? aie aie aie,	<i>it rolls it rolls because it's been rolled up before, that's why, how do you want to transport it if it's not rolled up ? come, do it properly hold it there and we'll use sticky tape where is the sticky tape ? that we had yesterday ? wait well you know we'll use some glue then where is it ? ... 'aie aie aie'</i>
SISR(G )		

	maintenant il colle,		<i>it sticks now</i>
03:00		ben non il colle pas vraiment/ hein ? e:: où est-elle cette colle maintenant ? – youp youp ! a:ttend.	<i>well no it doesn't really stick does it ? eh where is this glue now ? 'youp youp' wait</i>
	<walks around making occasional noises>	<6>	
SISR(G) ) SISR (G)		Vincent voilà. tu mets un petit point de colle – en dessous {a CHAQUE point} sur CHAQUE point, derrière - derrière le papier, pour qu'il reste bien plat. <4>	<i>Vincent there put a little point of glue – underneath {at each point} on each point behind – behind the paper to keep it nice and flat</i>
03:30	mais MOI, *xxx amuse-moi. [ὙπρομΥσ ἰαμψσῶμωα] <4>		<i>but me amuse(s) me</i>
		voilà/	<i>there</i>
	faut pas coller par terre !		<i>don't glue onto the ground !</i>
SISR(G) )		oui/ - attends, ça restera, attends, voilà. <3> ouep - voilà/ - voilà. et là, ça ira, petit à petit {ça} ça se défera, 'tends, voi:là. – 'tit pointe de colle là:/ <12>	<i>yes – wait it will stay, wait, there ... 'ouep' – there – there and there, that will do slowly but surely, it will loosen wait, there little point of glue there</i>
04:00			
	COMME ça ! maintenant il est collé sur DEUX côtés ! <19>	<gets something in kitchen cupboard>	<i>like that ! now it's glued on two sides !</i>
04:30	<hums Norwegian children's song, getting more and more boisterous>		

SISR(G )		<interrupts> voi:là. alors. {tu} tu mets *la: - couvercle parte:rre/ - au cas où on va faire des mélanges/ -	<i>well then put the lid down in case we'll mix colours</i>
05:00	<hums same song, getting more boisterous still> <mumbles to himself>	<sound of running water>	
		voi:là/ - et ça/ - en avant ! maintenant on va faire un TRÈS BEAU tableau.	<i>there – and that – there we go ! now we're going to make a very beautiful painting</i>
	TRÈS TRÈS beau.		<i>very very beautiful</i>
SISR(G )		{pour euh-} {pour eu:h}- pour reprendre, hein ? après.	<i>{to uhm} to uhm – to take along, huh ? afterwards. what kind of painting do you want</i>
05:30		qu'est-ce qu'on va faire comme tableau ? que veux tu faire ? la montagne avec les skieurs ? et les maisons ?	<i>to make ? what do you want to do ? the mountain with the skiers ? and the houses ?</i>
	/non seulement les maisons.		<i>no only the houses</i>
		seulement des maisons ? pas la montagne avec les petits skieurs ? dessus avec des petits sapins ?	<i>only houses ? not the mountain with the little skiers ? on it and the little pine trees ?</i>
SISR(V )	non seulement {le} - la la montagne.		<i>no just the mountain</i>
		la monta:gne avec TOUT. allez, viens. on va le faire. la montagne avec tout. voilà tes couLEURS- viens ici. viens ici, Harry Potter !	<i>the mountain with everything come we'll do it the mountain with everything there are your colours come here come here, Harry Potter !</i>

06:00	non mais, ça c'est mon petit frère *de est Harry Potter, [δ□ Et ∪ηα{ι ∪ποτ↔{]		<i>no but, that's my little brother, he's Harry Potter</i>
		bon, alors, on commence ta montagne.	<i>well then, we'll start your mountain</i>
SISR(G )	e:t     et on le fait aussi avec les marqueurs, hein ? ça doit être euh - ensemble. viens voir, viens chez Mamy. voilà ta montagne. elle est comment ta montagne ? elle est bla:nche avec un tout petit peu de bleu. - est-ce que c'est comme ça la montagne ? oui. un peu comme ça, voilà, a:ttention. - viens voir, viens ! c'est toi qui va faire la montagne, hein ? c'est pas moi/ <4> a:lors, {elle} regarde un peu les montagnes, est-ce qu'elles sont {toutes} toutes plates au-dessus ?	Vincent: 'et' Grandmother: <i>and we'll do it with the markers too, huh ? it has to be ehm – together come see, come to Granny there's your mountain how is your mountain ? it's white with a little bit of blue is that how the mountain is ? or a bit like that, there, careful - come see, come ! you're the one who's going to do the mountain, huh ? it's not me well, look a bit at the mountains are they all flat on top ?</i>	
06:30 SISR(G ) SISR(G )			
SIOR(V)	non *{il a} il a comme ça des (( <b>DK pron., voc.) bue</b> ) [∪βY↔] au dessus,		<i>no there are there are like that arches on top</i>
		avec des pointes ?	<i>with peaks ?</i>
	oui.		<i>yes</i>
		o:n va faire la montagne comme ça. REGARDE. ... voi:là. comme-ça la montagne,	<i>we'll make the mountain like that look ... there like that the mountain,</i>
	//<makes pfft pfft sounds>//	//TOI tu fais// les pistes de ski. viens faire les pistes de ski.	<i>you'll make the ski slopes come and make the ski slopes</i>

<babbles: blu blu blu blu blu !>

07:00

viens ! - ici, viens ! – viens de ce côté-ci !

*come ! here come ! come to this side*

PRENDS - prends le pinceau/ - et comment est-ce {est-ce qu'ils} est-ce qu'elles sont les pistes de ski ? - hui::: comme-ça ?

*take – take the brush - and how are the ski slopes ? - hui' like this ?*

hmpf ! //hehehe://

//oui ?// allez, encore une autre, viens !

*yes ? come another one, come !*

no::n.

*no*

viens !

*come !*

07:30

\*il n'est pas comme-ça les //pistes de ski ! //

//oui, mais on// fera après, hein, malin singe. allez, viens. fais une autre piste de ski. - plus droite ?

*Vincent: ski slopes aren't like that !  
Grandmother: yes, but we'll do that later, huh, smart cookie. come, come. make another ski slope-. straighter ?*

oui.

*yes.*

SISR(G  
)

eh ben, fais-la plus droite. ça c'est schuss ? voilà. {elle est} elle est plus large, hein, la piste de ski. viens - viens ici.

*well then, make it straighter - is that schuss ? there. the ski slope is wider, you know. come ... come here*

a:h !

*'ah'*

s::h::: ! - viens ici.

*'sh' come here*

ts::h::: !

*'tsh'*

08:00	viens faire la piste de ski avec Mamy, viens ! <3> tiens ! - viens ici ! viens ICI: ! - toi tu vas peindre en arrière, toi, de l'autre côté !	<i>come do the ski slope with Granny, come ! - there ! ... come here ! come here ! you're going to paint backwards, you on the other side !</i>
	//tschchch !//  //allez /viens !// - fais la piste de ski, - qui vient vers nous. – comme tu veux. - VOILÀ ! tre:s bien ! /.très bien Vincent 'nant tu vas faire des petits sapins. ils sont plus petits les sapins, et ils sont plus foncés/	<i>come now – do the ski slope, which is coming our way - as you like. there ! very good ! very good Vincent now you're going to make little pine trees pine trees are smaller, and they're darker</i>
OIOR( et plus noirs ! V) 08:30		<i>and blacker !</i>
SISR(G )	/et plus noirs/. /alors on les fait comme-ça/ - voi/là des p'tits sapins/ - e:n avant ! <4> fais des p'tits sapins, avec Mamy/ ou tu les fait {toute} tout seul ?	<i>and blacker. then we'll do them like that there's little pine trees come on ! make little pine trees, with Granny or do you do them by yourself ?</i>
SISR(V avec e:hm *TOUTE seul. )		<i>with 'ehm' by myself</i>
	eh bien, fais des arbres, des petits sapins. - DANS la montagne.	<i>oh well, make trees, little pine trees - in the mountain.</i>
	ici ? *dala ? [ι∪σι ∪δA)λα]	<i>here ? 'dala' ?</i>
	oui/ - où tu veux,	<i>yes – wherever you want</i>
su:r la montagne [συ]{λα μ□)∪τα/], //là//.	//sur// la montagne, vas-y.	<i>Vincent: on the mountain, there Grandmother: on the mountain, go ahead</i>
	celui-ci. [∩σ↔λυι∪σι]	<i>this one</i>



	oui/ - voilà - ça ce sont des grands arbres, tu sais, voi:là/ encore un ? plus foncé cette fois-ci.	<i>yes there those are tall trees you know, there another one ? darker this time.</i>
	mwoi.	<i>'mwoi'</i>
	regarde, peux faire des petits sapins /comme- ça, oui ! - comme-ça !	<i>look, darker this time. you can do small pine trees like that ... yes ! - like that !</i>
	*y t'as vu comme ça c'est une grande montagne, comme ça il peut mw::/	<i>and did you see how high this mountain is that way he can 'mw'</i>
	oui/ tu peux les faire comme-ça aussi/ hein, c'est sûr/ - viens ! <3>	<i>yes you can do them like that too can't you of course – come !</i>
	e:n plus noi:r !	<i>a bit blacker !</i>
OISR( G)	plus noir ?	<i>blacker ?</i>
	oui. TOUT noir ! <3>	<i>yes. all black !</i>
	-beh tout a fait noir, c'est pas possible, 'c'est déjà noir, mais voilà, TIENS. fais des petits sapins tout noirs. par là.<4> voilà ! continue ! – oui ! fais les branches ! très bien ! - /très bien ! - voilà ! encore, et l'autre côté aussi, hein !	<i>beh' all black, that's not possible it's already black but here, hold on. make all black little pine trees over there there ! go on ! yes ! do the branches ! very good ! very good ! there ! again and the other side too, you know</i>
10:30	hm: ! il faut a: <20> hm: ! comme ça [ΣA] !'	<i>hm' ! there must 'a'... hm' ! like that !</i>
	oui ! vas-y ! <3>	<i>yes ! go ahead !</i>

	hihi: ! COMME ça [σα]! //comme ç'//	//TRÈS bien Vincent !// - maintenant tu fais des skieurs/ ? – ou des maisons ?	Vincent: <i>hihi' ! there ! there</i> Grandmother: <i>very good Vincent - you'll do skiers now ? or houses ?</i>
	//des mai//sons.	- //d'abord ?//	Vincent: <i>houses</i> Grandmother: <i>first ?</i>
		eh ben, elles sont comment les maisons ?	<i>well, are they like the houses ?</i>
	{//ils sav'//}	//quelle couleur ?//	Vincent: <i>they (know)</i> Grandmother: <i>what colour ?</i>
SISR(V ) 11:00	{ils sont} ils sont - comme tu veux !	ah non/ - tiens, comme tu veux ? c'est bien la première fois que tu me dises ça ! allez, en avant ! viens faire une maison comme tu veux. <4>	<i>they are – like you want !</i>  <i>oh no - hey, like you want ? that would be the first time you're telling me that ! come, go ahead ! come and make a house like you want</i>
	moi veux *le faire - tout noir/ moi.	mais pourquoi veux-tu tout tout noir ? allez viens faire une maison, viens ! – tu fais une maison tout seul ? –	<i>I want to make it all black</i>  <i>but why do you want everything all black ? 'allez' come make a house, come ! are you making a house all by yourself ?</i>
	non un carré tout seul [Σ↯λ]	tu fais les murs, de la maison. – fais les murs. <4> oui/ et ça, qu'est-ce que c'est ?	<i>no a square all by myself</i>  <i>are you making the walls of the house - make the walls ... yes and that, what is that ?</i>
	une porte [πoτ] !		<i>a door !</i>

SISR(G ) SISR(G ) SISR(G )	une porte ? {pre} mets de l'eau {sur ton sur ton} METS de l'eau, dans la cassero' VOI:là. <5> voilà.	<i>a door ? put water {on your on your} put water, in the pan there ... there.</i>
c'est comme //ça [κ□μ Σα]!//	// oui/ //	Vincent: <i>that's how it is !</i> Grandmother: <i>yes</i>
12:00 t'as vu comme il est BEAU ! <3> e:t comme ÇA:/ [κ□μ σα]	ce sont les murs ?	<i>did you see how beautiful it is ! and like that  are those the walls ?</i>
bru::n ! t'as vu *moi fais bru::n ! *moi fais toutes les couleurs/ alors ça *'vient [ϞφE)] BRU:N ! – <softly> plus foncé, (toi).[τωα] –		<i>brown ! did you see I'm doing brown ! I'll do all the colours, then it becomes brown ! darker (you)</i>
	je peux faire un toit ?	<i>can I make a roof ?</i>
oui.		<i>yes.</i>
12:30	<5> voilà.	<i>there</i>
qu'est-ce qu'y a un xxx [↵)∪ναο], atchou ?		<i>what has a xxx, 'atchoo' ?</i>
	tiens ! ça c'est rouge, Vincent ! – tu veux du rouge ?	<i>there ! that's red, Vincent ! you want red ?</i>
<6> *moi veux du rouge ! – seulement du rouge !		<i>I want red ! only red !</i>

		oui ben mets seulement du rouge, alors, ne mélange pas avec les autres ! – bein NON, Vincent, c'est pas dans l'eau/ hein ! - allez ! prends ce pinceau-ci alors.	<i>yes well put only red, then, don't mix it with the others ! well no, Vincent, it's not in the water you know ! – come on ! take this brush then</i>
13:00	//<grunts>//	//VAS faire// la maison rouge, e:n avant, par-là !	<i>go and do the red house, come on over there !</i>
	<clicks with tongue a number of times>		
		que fais-tu maintenant ?	<i>what are you doing now ?</i>
	<4>		
		dis ce que tu fais, hein !	<i>say what you're doing, then !</i>
	les mu::rs bien sûr ! <3> les murs COMME ça ! [Σα]		<i>the walls of course ! the walls like that !</i>
		et il n'y a pas de /portes dans ta maison comment est-ce qu'on entre là-dedans ?	<i>and there are no doors in your house how do you go inside it ?</i>
	<laughs> ehe ! une porte !		<i>'ehe' ! a door !</i>
13:30		fais un peu /une porte !	<i>make a door then !</i>
	- e:hm:	tiens, voilà l'autre pinceau si tu veux faire la porte, et tu peux mettre l'AUTRE couleur, hein. ou du BLEU, et du JAUNE. <3> non allez Vincent ! fais comme il faut ! qu'après Grand Papy et ta Maman, vont venir voir/ - et si c'est pas joli alors, ils seront pas contents hein ! <3>	<i>... 'ehm' there, there's the other brush if you want to do the door, and you can use the other colour, you know or blue or yellow no come on Vincent ! do it properly ! because afterwards Granddad and your Mamma will come and see and if it's not nice then they won't be happy will they !</i>

14:00	*moi *va mettre une autre couleur. BLANC. <6> BLA:NC ! <grins: hm: !> une porte - tou:t <5> et *peut nous pas		<i>I will put another colour. white white ! a door – all ... and can't we hold the door to get into the house ? ... we need one like that to be –</i>
14:30	*tiendre la porte pour rentrer dans la maison ? <3> il faut une comme-ça pour être <3>		
SISR(G ) SISR(G )	et où est-elle cette maison ? {elle est} elle est {a:} en Norvège ?		<i>and where is this house ? is it in Norway ?</i>
	non ici en Fra:nce ! [φ{A)Σ]		<i>no here in France !</i>
	en France ? <7>		<i>in France ?</i>
SISR(G )	et tu fais de:s des comment on peut voir dans cette maison ? il faut des/ ? fe ?		<i>and are you making any - any how to look inside this house ? you need ? win ?</i>
	nêtres.		<i>dows.</i>
15:00	des fe/nêtres,  ça c'est pour ouvrir la porte.		<i>you need windows.  that's to open the door.</i>
	c'est seulement pour ouvrir la porte ?		<i>is it only to open the door ?</i>
	oui.		<i>yes.</i>
	ben d'accord/ - ça va/		<i>well OK – that's ok</i>
15:30	et ça c' – *moi *va faire *l'autre/ chose <15> /comme ça *de fenêtres. <6> hi ! <27>		<i>and that's - I will do something else ... like that, windows ... 'hi' !</i>

16:00	et PARLE - en dessinant. RACONTE ce que tu fais.	<i>and speak while drawing. tell what you're doing. it goes more easily when you tell about it yes ... very good !</i>
16:30	ça va plus facile/ment quand tu le racontes. <5> oui/ <8> /très bien ! <15>	
	et voi:ci ! [σι] ça marche. ça c'est comme *une camion de –	<i>and here ! xxx it works. that's like a lorry of –</i>
OISR(G)	c'est quel camion ? <3>	<i>which lorry is it ?</i>
	il est comme-ça !	<i>it's like that !</i>
17:00	ramasse les poubelles ?	<i>collects the garbage ?</i>
	il *[∩{αμα∪σε}] les poubelles il va, il va dans la maiso:n/ ? <grunts> <12>	<i>he collect(ed) the garbage it goes, into the house ?</i>
SISR(G)	{c'est le} c'est quoi ça ?	<i>{it's the} what's that ?</i>
	une *l'autre [λοτ{]} maison !	<i>another house !</i>
17:30	ah ? allez continues alors, tu fais beaucoup de maisons alors, vas-y. non tu mets de l'eau, sinon ça ne vas pas, <3>	<i>ah ? well carry on then, you're making a lot of houses. come, go ahead. no, add water otherwise it won't work</i>
	et comme ça/ <laughs>	<i>and like that</i>
18:00	voi:là/ - voi:là continue/ tu prends le gros alors, parce qu'il est trop mince le tien. maintenant. tiens ! <3> voi:là/	<i>there - there carry on take the large one then because yours is too slim. now here ! xxx there</i>

	comme il est joli l'arbre.		<i>how pretty the tree is</i>
		très joli.	<i>very pretty</i>
	<4> comme ça/ [σ α ̃]		<i>like that</i>
		mais Vincent, tu fais de la peinture, hein, tu fais pas de la /soupe là.	<i>but Vincent, you're painting, you know, you're not making soup there</i>
18:30	//<laughs out loud>//	//t'es toujours en train de mettre tes couleurs dans l'eau, allez ! peins ! dessine un peu, va. continue c'est TRÈS beau ça, ça c'est la neige ça.//	<i>you're always putting your colours in the water, come ! paint ! draw a bit, then. go on that's very beautiful, that's the snow then.</i>
	oui *de [δ↔] tombe.		<i>yes that falls</i>
		elle tombe sur la maison ?	<i>does it fall on the house ?</i>
	<laughs g::: !> sur les montagnes –		<i>on the mountains</i>
		et sur la piste de ski/ <4>	<i>and on the skislope</i>
	<laughs>		
		elle tombe par/tout cette neige !	<i>that snow falls everywhere !</i>
19:00	eheuh ! *il va dans Hollande *celui-ci neige.		<i>'eheuh' ! this snow goes to Holland !</i>
OISR(G)		elle va en Hollande la neige ?	<i>does the snow go to Holland ?</i>
	oui /		<i>yes</i>

		elle prend le train ?	<i>does it take the train ?</i>
	<laughs>		
		ou l'avion pour aller en Hollande ?	<i>or the plane to go to Holland ?</i>
	<laughs> maintenant il va:: <makes 'z' sound> ça tombe partout		<i>now it goes 'z' it falls everywhere</i>
19:30	//et ça// tombe ici:/	// ben oui //	Vincent: <i>and it falls here</i> Grandmother: <i>well yes</i>
	il tombe ici:/ il tombe ici:/ il tombe ici:/ <sup>46</sup>		<i>it falls here it falls here it falls here</i>
	<4> <laughs>		
		et les gens ils vont bien skier alors ? dans toute cette neige là ? <3>	<i>and people are going to ski well then ? in all that snow ?</i>
	et toute la soupe ! <8>		<i>and all the soup !</i>
20:00		oui:/ - continue/ <14>	<i>yes ... carry on ...</i>
	mais qu'est-ce que c'est ça *comme une couleur ?		<i>but what kind of colour is that ?</i>
		c'est jaune clair/. allez vas-y ! Ça tu fais vert alors. -	<i>it's bright yellow come go ahead ! like that you're making green then</i>
	et qu'est-ce que ça *vie:nt ?		<i>and what does it become ?</i>

---

<sup>46</sup> Enumerates



20:30		eh bien tu vas voir. a::h c'est joli/ ça ! c'est orange/	<i>well you'll see. ah that's pretty ! it's orange</i>
	oui orange/		<i>yes orange</i>
		ça c'est joli.	<i>that's pretty</i>
	oui. mais comment *moi pouvais faire ça ?		<i>yes but how could I do that ?</i>
		eh ben t'a mis du rouge/ du jaune/ ça fais orange -.et si tu veux orange clair tu mets du blanc/ - et si tu veux un TOUT petit peu orange foncé tu mets un TOUT petit peu de bleu dedans. – alors ça fait un peu brun.	<i>well you added red, yellow, that turns orange. and if you want light orange you add white - and if you want slightly dark orange you put a tiny little bit of blue in it that makes it a bit brown</i>
21:00	hm !		<i>hm</i>
		et c'est encore une maison ?	<i>and is that another house ?</i>
	non ! -		<i>no !</i>
		qu'est-ce que c'est ? une tomate ?	<i>what is it ? a tomato ?</i>
	<laughs out loud>		
		qu'est ce que c'est ?	<i>what is it ?</i>
	<laughing> une tomate si grande plus [πλψσ] grande *da une maiso::n <laughs> t'as vu *comme ça une tomate ?		<i>a tomato that big bigger than a house have you seen a tomato like that ?</i>

		allez continue ! <6>	<i>come, go on !</i>
21:30	<babbles>		
		mets /pas trop d'eau, hein !	<i>don't add too much water, huh !</i>
	<laughs>		
		sinon les couleurs sont pas jolies/ quand tu mets trop d'eau,	<i>otherwise the colours aren't nice - if you add too much water</i>
	et ça c'est bleu.: ! - t'as vu *comme *moi fais toutes les couleurs.		<i>that's blue ! have you seen how I do all the colours</i>
		ah oui ! t'es un /magicien !	<i>oh yes ! you're a magician !</i>
	<laughs>		
		t'es le Harry Potter des couleurs !	<i>you're the Harry Potter of colours !</i>
	<grins> mi:auw !		<i>meow !</i>
22:00	//<hums> //	//voilà/ <4> 'lors là tu mets un TOUT petit peu d'eau, parce que ta couleur est trop sèche.	<i>there ... over there, you add a tiny bit of water because your paint is too dry ... tiny bit, huh !</i>
SISR(G )		- tout petit peu, hein ! – pourquoi {tu mets} tu secoues ça dans la casserole comme-ça ? t'es un drôle de peindre //hein// !	<i>why {do you put} do you shake that in the pan like that ? you're a strange painter, you !</i>
	//<laughs> //		
	mais ça c'est joli [ζολι] ?		<i>but is that pretty ?</i>
		oui. - eh, pas trop de bleu hein !	<i>yes – eh, not too much blue eh !</i>
	<laughs> <5>		

		voilà/	<i>there</i>
22:30	t'as vu comme *ça c'est beau !		<i>did you see how beautiful that is !</i>
		ou:i/ <4> ça fait aubergine. c'est ENCORE une maison ?	<i>yes ... that's aubergine. is that yet another house ?</i>
SISR(V )	<laughing> une {mese} maison si lo:ngue ! <3> pourquoi *toi toi dis maison maison maison/ ?		<i>a house so long ! why do you say house house house ?</i>
23:00		mais c'est toi qui veut des maisons, c'est pas moi/ <4> qu'est-ce que je ferais/ moi, avec toutes des maisons comme ça ?	<i>but you're the one who wants houses, it's not me ... what would I do, with all those houses ?</i>
	ts:		<i>'ts'</i>
		j'saurais pas les nettoyer/	<i>I wouldn't be able to clean them</i>
	ehe !		<i>'ehe' !</i>
SISR(G )		elles seront trop /grandes. – elles sont /grandes tes maisons ! {tu} si tu mettais un peu des arbres et des fleurs autour ?	<i>they'll be too big - those houses of yours are big ! and if you put some trees and flowers around ?</i>

SISR(V ) 23:30	<p>&lt;babbles&gt; to:n - comme-ça [κ□μ Σα]. des fleurs comme-ça [κ□μ Σα] hahaha ! &lt;3&gt;.ça c'est *une autre pays/ il va jusque *celui-ci pays/ - et ju::sque *celui-ci pays ! il va *toutes les pays celui-ci ! on peut rouler dans tous les pays. on peu:t &lt;3&gt; *moi prends un peu: comme ça.</p>	<p><i>your – like that. flowers like that hahaha ! that's another country it goes until this country and until this country ! it goes all the countries this one ! we can drive in all the countries. we can – I take a bit like that</i></p>
24:00	<p>et si tu faisais un avion pour aller dans les pays ? – attends je vais te mettre de l'autre eau parce qu'elle est sale maintenant xxx. a:llez. &lt;23&gt;</p>	<p><i>and if you made a plane to go to the countries ? wait I'll give you other water because it's dirty now xxx - there</i></p>
24:30	<p>&lt; babbles&gt;</p>	
25:00	<p>tiens, je vais te remettre de la couleur/ &lt;4&gt; non Vincent ! de l'autre côté ! pas sur le divan - là, tu vas d'ce côté là. là ! ploup ! voi:là, là ! et Mamy te remet des couleurs. &lt;5&gt;. voi:là/ &lt;4&gt; allez ici ! pfuit ! allez, ce côté-ci. tiens ! tu les a plus près de toi maintenant.</p>	<p><i>there, I'll give you some new colour no Vincent ! the other side ! not on the sofa – there, go to that side there ! 'youp' ! there ! and Granny will give you some new colours. there – come, over here ! 'pfuit' ! come, this side, there ! you have them closer to you now.</i></p>
	<p>qu'est-ce qui fait ça ? &lt;4&gt;</p>	<p><i>what does that ?</i></p>
25:30	<p>'tension hein/ ne fais pas tout sale maintenant. fais ça ça &lt;12&gt; allez, comme-ça. maintenant tu fais un avion/</p>	<p><i>careful huh don't make it all dirty now. do that that ... ... come, like that now you're making a plane</i></p>
	<p>*une avion comme-ça:/ [κ□μ Σα].</p>	<p><i>a plane like that</i></p>
	<p>comme-ça/</p>	<p><i>like that</i></p>

SISR(V )	ça c'est le nav' <11>. pourquoi ça c'est *la l'eau tout [τυύΣυρ] ? <sighs> /ah		<i>that's the 'nav' ... why is that all water ? well</i>
26:00	ben on - nettoie <4> avec *la l'eau. <3> ah ! t'as vu *qu'est-ce que ça *vient		<i>then we clean with the water ah ! did you see</i>
SISR(V )	avec *la l'eau ? avec de l'eau ? ça *vient ça ! avec de l'eau !		<i>what comes with the water ? – with the water ? it becomes like that ! with water !</i>
26:30		eh bien c'est joli aussi/ comme-ça !	<i>well, that's nice too !</i>
		et tonk ! - tonk ! <many tonk>	<i>and 'tonk' ! 'tonk' !</i>
		et ya pas d'avion là-dedans <4>	<i>and there's no plane in there.</i>
27:00	mais ça c'est une maison trop *gra:nd/ ! <15> *va nous faire la –		<i>but that's too big a house ! are we going to do the –</i>
		que fais tu encore, alors ? <5>	<i>what more are you going to do, then ?</i>
27:30	euh - les [κɪ ʃ] <excited babbling and thumping>		<i>euh, the xxx</i>
		continue ! <42>	<i>go on !</i>
28:00	<babbling and thumping>  et comme-ça: / [κ μ Σ α]. ça *vient: ça ! [σ α]		<i>and like that (it becomes) like that !</i>
28:30	//te:: //	//oui mais tu fais// pas tout comme ça, hein ! <5>	<i>yes but you aren't going to do it all like that, are you ?</i>
	et ça c'est pas joli ?		<i>and that, isn't that pretty ?</i>

		c'est joli/ mais pas tout tu vas pas faire toutes les maisons de la même couleur, hein ?	<i>it's pretty but not everything you aren't going to do all the houses in the same colour, are you ?</i>
	hm ! mais ça c'est pas une maison ça c'est une TOMATE !		<i>hm ! but that's not a house that's a tomato !</i>
OISR(G)		une tomate bleu ?	<i>a blue tomato ?</i>
	g:. !		
	*moi va mettre - COMME ÇA [κ□μ σα] !		<i>xxx going to put ... like that !</i>
29:00		ça va. et puis, que mets-tu encore {dans} dans ton tableau ? – il n'est pas fini/ hein ! peux mettre encore d'autres choses !	<i>that's ok. and then, what else are you putting in your painting ? it's not finished, is it ? you can still put other things !</i>
SISR(V)f	on peut aussi: - delelilelileli //parce qu'il est trop petit//	//allez//	Vincent: <i>we can also – 'delelilelileli', because it's too small</i> Grandmother: <i>come on</i>
		que mets-tu encore dans ton tableau, Vincent ?	<i>what else are you putting in the painting, Vincent ?</i>
	delelileli: parce qu'il est trop petit/ - <laughs> ! <sings> lilililili parce qu'il est trop petit ? <laughs>		<i>delelileli 'because it's too small ! 'lilililili' because it's too small ?</i>
29:30		<4> allez.	<i>... come</i>

mais \*moi trouve \*ça c'est beau ! <13>  
qu'est-ce que c'est ça:/ ?

*but I think that's beautiful ! what's that ?*

mais pourquoi fais tu toujours la même  
couLEUR ? change un peu de couleur/ hein !

*but why are you always doing the same colour  
? change colour already, huh !*

c'est pas la même couleur, parce que  
t'as vu ?

*it's not the same colour, because did you see ?*

SISR(G  
)  
30:00  
SISR(G  
)

ben si, hein, c'est la même couleur, c'est du  
{bleu} bleu gris. allez je vais te faire {un} une  
– une couleur différente un peu.

*well yes, it is the same colour, it's greyish  
blue. come I'll make you a slightly different  
colour.*